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UNITY CONFERENCE

THIRD MEETING OF NEW JERSEY SOCIALISTS HELD—USEFULNESS OF I. W. W. RECOGNIZED.

Minutes of the Third Meeting of Conference Between Socialist Party and Socialist Labor Party of New Jersey, Held at Party Headquarters, Newark, Sunday, January 21, Adopted.

Officers of the Conference in their places.

Roll call:

SOCIALIST PARTY.

Essex County—Green, Killingbeck, James.

Hudson County—Headley, Kiehn, Reilly.

Passaic County—Glanz, Gregory, Hueck.

Union County—Bickerood, Cassens, Walker.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Essex County—Mattick, Quinlan, Rapp.

Hudson County—Eck, Gallo, Hossack.

Passaic County—Frueh, Romary, Smithers.

Union County—B. Burgholz, Fallath, McCrorie.

Minutes of the previous meeting, of December 31, 1905, were read, adopted, and, by unanimous vote of the Conference, ordered sent to the Socialist press for publication. Business was then resumed, where it had been left off at the previous meeting.

Frueh, S. L. P.—Called attention to the fact that the Conference at its previous meeting had departed from the order of business which had been laid down. "The amended resolution which we now take up reads: 'Resolved, That this conference places itself on record as favoring the organization of the working class upon the lines of the class struggle.' This is really a sliding away from clause 3 of the order of business, in which we decided to declare for or against the: 'Usefulness of the Industrial Workers of the World to the true proletarian movement, that is, the Socialist movement.'" Frueh offered as a substitute for the amended resolution: Resolved, That the Conference places itself on record as recognizing the usefulness of the Industrial Workers of the World to the proletarian movement, that is, to the Socialist movement. Seconded by Rapp, S. L. P., and by unanimous vote the substitute motion supplanted the previous motion, and amendment, and became the basis for discussion.

Killingbeck, S. P.—Amended to read recognize the usefulness of a form of organization similar to the I. W. W. Seconded by Quinlan, S. L. P.

Hossack, S. L. P.—This amendment dodges the question. Pure and simplers might organize on what they call similar lines. The A. F. of L. claims it has organizations on Industrial lines. According to the order of business we must pronounce for or against the I. W. W.

Eck, S. L. P.—I see no sense in the amendment. We should discuss what is now the original motion. An amendment is not in order until we have discussed the merits of the I. W. W. If the discussion brings out that the I. W. W. is not worthy of our confidence then the amendment may be justifiable.

Killingbeck, S. P.—The I. W. W. may be good enough now, but it may drift—may become bad. Should the Socialist movement base itself on the I. W. W. and that organization fall, the party would fall with it. I am opposed to recognizing that organization until it has proved itself to be of use. In Colorado the Western Federation of Miners adopted declarations similar to those of the I. W. W., endorsed the S. P., then went to the polls, not to cast their ballot for the Socialist candidate, but for a reactionary democrat. We have nothing definite to show that the I. W. W. would not do the same thing. At the same time I believe in endorsing the principles of Industrial Unionism.

James, S. P.—I don't fully agree with Comrade Killingbeck. The point of endorsement should be discussed by a national convention. I would have this Conference declare that the members of both parties should join the I. W. W. and try to keep it on class conscious, Socialist lines. It would not be fair to ask us to do what the S. L. P. has not done.

Eck, S. L. P.—We have decided to declare for or against the I. W. W., and the discussion should be held down to that. We can say what we think of the I. W. W.

Headley, S. P. (chairman)—We cannot endorse, but we can recognize the usefulness of the I. W. W. Let us drop using the word endorsement.

Reilly, S. P.—We have the power to favor endorsement if we wish. As a local can recommend to the party, so can we recommend to the national organization, the recognition of the I. W. W. as a body useful to the movement. To recognize implies endorsement. We have said that the A. F. of L. is an obstacle to working class progress. Now the I. W. W. is organized on the basis of the class struggle and certainly a body so organized is useful to the political movement and we do recognize that. The I. W. W. has for its goal the overthrow of capitalism. No Socialist at this late date but knows that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class, on the economic, as well as on the political field. The opposition to this motion may be divided into two groups. First, those who think that the political movement is all sufficient to bring about the Socialist Commonwealth. We have had instances enough to show that the political is not all sufficient. Why, even reforms cannot be brought about by political action alone. The argument cited against the W. F. of M. doesn't hold good when we consider the facts. Don't forget that the leaders and the radical men among the miners were deported to Kansas. Don't forget that in Colorado the ballots cast by the miners were counted by the same class that had deported the men to Kansas. Who of us can say how the men voted? On the face of the returns a Democrat was elected, but even he was not allowed to take his seat. Let us [illegible]t too much faith in the ballot. In Germany we see the working class building barricades in the streets in defence of the suffrage. Here race prejudice has been played upon in order to disfranchise a whole class. Right here in New Jersey we see them getting ready to gerrymander the state again. Residence and other qualifications are surely working toward our disfranchisement. Let us not pin all our faith to what can be so easily manipulated. The Socialist state will be different to the capitalist state and we must be prepared to administer it. Unionism and politics are inseparable and the form of unionism is reflected by the political action of its members. Here in the east it was the K. of L. radicals that gave support to the "radical" Populist movement. Craft autonomous unionism produces individual political action—Craft political action.

The I. W. W. is an economic organization based upon the class struggle; don't pick out its little defects. Its ground principles are correct, its aim is correct, and the movement is bound to result in a sound form of political manifestation.

The second group, maybe the majority, among us, recognize all this but they fear the fight, or that the time is not ripe. Well, if not now, when?—to quote Patrick Henry, when will we be stronger, will it be next week, or next year? I say let us lay the foundation now, take our stand and not wait. I have seen the result of some of our doctrines, and you may call this De Leonism if you wish, we have built up a big organization, a big vote; that vote has been cut into, and will continue to be cut into by reforms. The question that should be settled in our minds is not to be afraid, but to declare it, if you see the usefulness of an economic organization with aims the same as ours, calling, despite us, for the unity of the workers politically and economically. If you recognize it as such—dare to say so.

Romary, S. L. P.—I can confirm by experience what Comrade Reilly has said about Colorado. I lived in that state for three years, and took active part in its politics for the S. L. P. There the ruling class has absolute control of the political power. Here we can have watchers at the polls, but in Colorado minority parties are not permitted to have watchers at the polls at all. You cannot cite the election returns as proof that the miners did or did not vote as they said they would.

We should take a positive position, it is the only way for militant Socialists. Suppose that upon the platform or in the shop we point out the fallacies of craft unionism, and tell the workers that they should be organized upon the lines of the class struggle, in industrial organization, and they should ask if there is such an organization, what else could you do but point to the I. W. W.? If you really mean what you say, then have the courage to take the only stand that we can—that we dare.

Hueck, S. P.—Killingbeck's amendment is really a beating about the bush. We came out against neutrality and the A. F. of L., and what shall we do now?—go right before the people with an endorsement of the I. W. W. The majority of the workers are in favor of industrial unionism. In the shop I talk it, and when a fellow worker asks if there is such an organization, I say yes, the I. W. W. Therefore, I can't see how we can get away from saying it here, and we should say it. When we say industrial unionism let it be clearly understood that we mean the I. W. W. and no other organization.

Killingbeck, S. P.—I don't like my amendment any better than the rest do. It isn't quite the thing, and I would amend the amendment with the following:

That it be the sense of this Conference that an economic organization of the working class to be effective must be based on the class struggle along industrial lines and having for its object the abolition of the capitalist system and the inauguration of a Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth. Seconded.

Gallo, S. L. P.—The trade union question is the vital point of difference between the two parties. You have all, no doubt, read various so-called labor journals, that declare there is harmony of interest between employer and employe. As to the character of the I. W. W. let me quote from its paper, the "Industrial Worker." Gallo here read several paragraphs from the paper showing its class conscious utterances, and said the A. F. of L. journals do not publish such utterances. Gallo also read from the Weekly People extracts of Debs' address on Industrial Unionism, and said that the organization that sends out men to preach such doctrine, and issues papers to teach such doctrine, clearly establishes the character of the organization, and its usefulness to the Socialist movement. As long as the capitalists let us have the ballot let us make the most of it. The I. W. W. recognizes that, and, while it does not indorse a political party, it proclaims the fact that we have to unite on that field as well as on the economic. Let us so organize that come what may we are ready to take and hold the means of production. As Reilly says, the ballot can be taken away. So in time of peace prepare for war. The S. P. side should recognize that this conference must be logical in all its conclusions and resolutions. Let us meet the issue like men by yes or no.

Green, S. P.—I have already expressed my belief in the I. W. W. I also regret that our press ignored Comrade Debs and his speeches. I am in favor of unity, and what I now bring up, is not for antagonism, but I want to read this from The People. Objection by Walker that it was not relevant to the discussion. Objection sustained by the chair.

Romary, S. L. P.—I believe in the necessity of full discussion. I. W. W. failure is not an improbability. If it fails, it can only be through failure to apply the principle. Even so, what of that? The principle will live. In Russia the revolution appears to be temporarily crushed, yet no Socialist entertains the thought that the revolution is ended or lost.

Let us make a fight for right principles. I. W. W. principles are right. Until we have developed organization able to overthrow capitalism we cannot overthrow it. Capitalism could not overthrow feudalism, until itself had reached the development and power able to cope with it. So with the I. W. W. With it we are now developing within capitalist society the power that is to grapple with it. All past systems show the necessity for us rearing an economic organization to establish Socialism.

Glanz, S. P.—There is but one course for us to pursue. We Socialists know that there are but two forms of unionism worthy of our consideration, the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. Having condemned the A. F. of L. we cannot remain logical by declaring that the I. W. W. is useful to the working class. We should endorse it. I have been told that they have Industrial Unionism in the Building Trades, but that is not what we mean. I am in favor of striking out usefulness and say indorsed.

Quinlan, S. L. P.—I seconded Killingbeck's amendment because of the lack of a motion as suggested now. We ought to substitute the word endorse for usefulness. Then the comrades on both sides of the house would not be in a

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VIRGINIA I. W. W.

WIPES THE FLOOR WITH GOMPERS' A. F. OF L. IN DEBATE.

President A. M. Fields of State Federation, Labor Commissioner Dougherty, the Honorable Mr. Gaines, and Hypnotizer Casey, Fall Into the Grave Dug for the Working Class.

(Special Correspondence)

Portsmouth, Va., Jan. 29.—The I. W. W. has taken on so much activity in this section that I think the membership at large will be interested in our development. We organized a local of the I. W. W. of twenty-five during the month of December. This started the ball rolling. At once antagonism showed itself. The A. F. of L., ignorant of the character of the men who would no longer put up with it, and not realizing that it takes strong men to cut loose from old moorings, started upon a campaign of abuse, to quickly find that they were up against the real thing and consequtnely were called down in short order and without any ceremeny, in the so doing either. The I. W. W. men refused to be browbeaten. The industrial plants here were soon in a turmoil, with the result that the local I. W. W. has grown from twenty-five to sixty, the cream of the working class, true men, strong men, men who know what they want and how to go after it, in whose hands the would-be leaders were as babies.

These leaders, who had so long been accustomed to be looked up to with veneration and listened to with respect, are dumbfounded at the revolution going on around them. They are utterly incompetent to control it. More positive measures must be adopted to prevent the membership from flocking to the I. W. W. They must do something to prevent their members from even hearing the argument of the I. W. W., it being dangerous for them to even talk with us. So, consequently, being unable to throttle us, they proposed to throttle themselves, and passed a resolution in their central body that their membership be forbidden to even talk with the I. W. W. men, thus showing the white feather, and forcing their own men into rebellion. They also forbade their members to loan their tools to any of the I. W. W. men, thus rendering themselves more and more objects of contempt to the working class. So the battle raged.

Finding their weak methods impotent against the class conscious methods of the I. W. W. these misleaders saw the necessity of bringing in their heavy guns the time for fooling had passed. These I. W. W. men must be destroyed. They smiled a great smile in anticipation of the drubbing we were to receive. They were ignorant of the old adage, "he who laughs last laughs best." So they sent an invitation to the I. W. W. local to send speakers to their open meeting to address them upon the principles of the I. W. W. We were to have three speakers and they the same. When the hour of meeting arrived the hall of the C. L. U. was packed to the doors. We were informed then that they were to have six speakers to our three. We were to be snowed under, killed and buried in short order. They were informed that we stood ready to meet a regiment of them if necessary; that we asked no odds, but were ready for the battle to begin.

The misleaders had ransacked the State for their heaviest guns, starting off with the President of the State Federation, A. M. Fields. Ye Gods! it was something awful. He informed them they must organize into their craft unions and vote for men of the old parties who had union cards in their pockets. This was his solution of the great labor question. This was the way for the working class to throw off the chains of wage slavery, by voting for those whose existence, whose life depends upon riveting the chains more securely around the neck of the working class. Does it not act upon you like an emetic, in other and plainer words, make you vomit to think of the working class being dominated by such minds and "leaders"?

Donald Munro answered him, showing the ridiculousness of voting for the men who support the capitalist system, a system which depended upon skinning you; showing the worse than folly of promoting the welfare of the leech that is sucking your life blood, making the leech stronger and more vigorous so that he can suck with more vim from Labor's veins; showing that the A. F. of L., being in the hands of leaders who taught the working class such arrant rot as the identity of interests between victim and leech, had reaped and could only reap defeat after defeat; that the Civic Federation where Belmont and the president of the A. F. of L., Gompers, sat down with the same object in view, viz., of bamboozling the working class, was proof positive that Gompers was a fake, yea worse than a fake; that Gompers was doing all that he could to fasten the leech securely upon the back of the working class. The audience was stirred by Munro's attacks upon the "labor leaders." The truths he poured out were a revelation to the rank and file.

So the "leaders" introduced their next great gun. He would surely force the I. W. W. to take water! The Honorable Mr. Gaines of the Virginia Legislature will now proceed. Mein Gott in Himmel! you ought to have heard his wild disjointed chat. Talking to a body of workingmen assembled to discuss the principles underlying the Labor Movement, he was at sea. He knew not what to say, so he talked of the war in the Southland and the rivers of blood that flowed forty years ago. Dwelt upon the dear old land of Dixie. Here is a man who does not seem to know that the Civil War is over, in this, the 20th century, talking to a body of workingmen who have no interest whatever in that war, except as a relic of the barbarism of the past ages. And this is the stuff that the A. F. of L. is dishing out to the working class to improve their material condition! Just think of it!

Ford then took up the gauntlet for the working class and made a revolutionary talk, showing how the capitalist system drove the workers into degradation and their daughters into prostitution; consequently the capitalistic system fosters and upholds working class degradation and prostitution, the brunt of this terrible condition falling upon the working class.

These ideas stirred up the audience to a fever heat causing the men to think, when Mr. Casey of the Central Labor Union took the stand and relieved the audience by allaying all necessity for thinking, by giving the mind a rest, by producing a vacuum, waiting to hear him say something and they are still waiting. He beat the air and advised the audience to stick to the old unions; not a single reason did he give for their so doing.

Then Newcome of the Machinists' Local I. W. W. of Newport News, a member of the S. P., who was invited by our local to take part in the discussion, delivered a good address upon the subject of debate, showing how defeat after defeat had been reaped by the working class; how the Civic Federationized A. F. of L. and other unions had withdrawn the charter of the Interborough strikers in New York, disorganizing these men at the very time they were in the field doing battle. He showed how organizing the working class upon the craft lines split the working class into hundreds of little bodies to be hurled into destruction by the great organized capitalist class whenever they dared to demand a betterment of their conditions, citing instance after instance where the members of the A. F. of L. scabbed upon their own brothers by continuing at work when the others were on strike. He told of the Typographers' strike. How the plants they were striking against are kept running by the pressmen, the bookbinders, the machinists, all members of the A. F. of L.: one set of the working class, through the teaching of the A. F. of L., helping, not only helping to, but actually defeating the other part of the working class.

Then came the great Mr. Daugherty, Commissioner of Labor for Virginia. He capped the climax; putting his feet into his mouth in great shape; eulogizing Sammy Gompers, and, in a bulldozing way, dared any one to accuse Sammy of being anthing but what was honorable. He was answered at once by Munro who told him that Gompers sat cheek by jowl with Belmont drinking champagne and smoking scab cigars at a Civic Federation banquet, while Belmont's other labor lieutenants were marshalling strike breakers to down the rank and file of Sammy's A. F. of L. Mr. Daughetry was like a sick kitten.

The meeting adjourned about 11 o'clock, with as mute a looking set of men for the craft unions as you ever saw while the I. W. W. men came out bubbling over with laughter, hilarious. They had been snowed under with a vengeance, they had been buried, but their funeral has not yet been announced nor will the distinguished Mr. Fields, Casey, Gaines

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CONGRESSIONAL

GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF RAILROAD RATES.

Since January 30 the House of Representatives has been mainly in Committee of the Whole on what is now called the Henderson Bill to regulate railroad rates. This bill is the successor of the Esch-Townsend bill which passed the House in the Fifty-eighth Congress, and died in the Senate. The gist of the bill is to invest the Interstate Commerce Commission with power to fix railroad rates. The bill was reported to the House unanimously from the Committee, Democrats and Republicans acting as a unit. Under such circumstances the passing of the bill by the House is a foregone conclusion. The discussion on such a bill, it would so seem at first blush, would be tame. Not at all! While there are no real scraps during the debate, there is hardly a line—outside of the purely technical passages—in the speeches of the eight Representatives, who spoke down to February 2, that every workingman of the land should not hear; there is not a fact that every workingman should not be made aware of. Capitalism is washing its dirty linen. Seeing that it is capitalist politicians who are acting as laundrymen, it is not merely the dirt that flows that is of interest, but the poise of the laundrymen themselves that is instructive.

Needless to say that among the "Pillars of Society" the railroad magnates have figured conspicuously. Not a vice there was but they were always at war with, not a virtue but they were the bright particular paragons of. One needs but to cite the Depews, the Goulds, the Harrimans to illustrate the point. It now appears that these perambulating canned extracts of civic virtues have been guilty of a long list of crimes and conspiricies to defraud other people. The following are a few of the items: They favored shippers with 100 cars against shippers with one car; they manipulated schedules "in ways past all finding out" by the police; they raised the rates on common articles and falsified their allegations of avereages; they paid dividends on fictitious capital; they determined what business concern should prosper and which should fail, which cities should grow and which should not; they organized private car companies to whom they loaned their tracks, who thus imposed their own terms to the shippers, and who defied the law to reach them behind their ingenious entrenchment; they got up "midnight rates," that is, sudden rates that would scuttle certain shippers; they, being shippers themselves, met as railroad directors to manipulate rates for themselves, etc., etc.—That much for the dirt.

Now for the laundrymen. One and all the speakers for the bill who enumerated the items in the above list of crimes declared that these crimes were being committed "against the people" and that the bill was in the interest of "the whole people." The whole people! Not once was the remotest allusion made to the disregard of the coupling laws, or of the laws regulating the number of cars to each trainman, or of the fatal results of these violations or evasions of the law upon the railroad employes. No allusion was made to the hundreds, aye, thousands of these workingmen who are annually either temporarily injured, or permanently maimed, or killed, or of those bereaved families. Upon all these heads not a word.

The laundrymen in this instance prove that when they say "the people" they mean only "the people who count," and that no one counts in their estimation except the capitalist. The working class is but cattle, if not worse in their estimation.

Accordingly, the hullabaloo is all about crimes that a certain class of capitalists commit against another set. The crimes committed against the working class—they are passed by in silence—they, evidently, are committed with the common consent and the common understanding of the whole capitalist class—against them the capitalist Congress has nothing to say, upon them the capitalist Congress places, by its silence, its judicial seal of approval.

Such, in a nutshell, is the obverse and reverse of the great reform bill, upon which the House seems united and the President poses as upon a pedestal of human and civic virtue.

THE MOVEMENT ABROAD

GERMAN SOCIALISTS JAILED—RUSSIA'S BANKRUPTCY—FACTORY SYSTEM IN JAPAN—NOTES FROM ITALY, DENMARK, AND SPAIN.

Herr Loebe, editor of the Volkswacht, has just been sentenced to prison on the pretext that he made an appeal to violence in the universal suffrage agitation.

Three other citizens in Dresden were sentenced to prison for terms ranging from three months to two years for alleged acts of violence in the same demonstrations. Only one of the three was known to have taken part in the affair. The others were only accidentally on the premises. Their denials did them no good; class justice wreaked its vengeance on them.

DENMARK.

The municipal elections, which will last for some weeks yet, have given to the Social Democracy so far 85 seats, divided among 30 towns. In 1900 the Party had 56 seats, in 25 towns. The result of the elections in the greater part of the most important cities, is not yet known.

SPAIN

"El Socialista" attributes the decrease in the Socialist vote from 26,000 in 1903, to 15,000 this year, to the immense emigration of workingmen, caused by excessive misery among the laboring class of the country. Moreover, the farm laborers were terrorized by the big proprietors, who kept them from voting. Everywhere the opponents of the Party employed the most unscrupulous means to cause its defeat.

ITALY.

The Socialists of Lombardy held a special convention at Milan on the 6th and 7th of January, for the purpose of considering the possibility of any foreign power interfering on the side of Czarism in the Russian Revolution. The convention adopted two resolutions. One of them treats of the general action to be taken by the International Bureau in such eventuality. The other calls upon the Bureau to take under consideration the proposition of enrolling an army of volunteers, in order to frustrate any attempt of this nature.

RUSSIA.

Of the 800 million roubles the Russian government is begging for in France, it has scraped up only 100. Events have confirmed the forecasts of the Socialists; the little well-to-do folks are bemoaning their endangered thrift. The repression of the revolutionary movement, and the state of anarchy resulting therefrom, following hard upon the Japanese war, have gone far toward scutling the government strong-boxes. The "People" of Geneva publishes the following details of the Russian financial situation:

In a recent article entitled "On the Eve of Bankruptcy," M. Migulin a Russian economist, estimated the direct and indirect losses of Russia in the last three months, at two thousand million roubles (one billion, sixty million dollars). Half of this is due to the depreciation of the paper money. Already in November, the imperial bank at St. Petersburg was paying on the bonds of the state, only one-third face value.

The expiration of the $360,000,000 loan is approaching. In February the $100,000,000 treasury bonds takjen b ythe Mendelsohn house, in Germany, will have to be redeemed.

And what are the actual resources?

In 1904 the ordinary budget proclaimed a deficiency of 58 million roubles, and the extraordinary budget proclaimed one of 600 million. The profits usually realized from the railroads, and the income of the tax on alcohol, have decreased immensely: the other taxes have likewise fallen, and continue to fall. How can they get funds where there are none? In September, famine was raging in 23 provinces, and since then has only spread.

JAPAN.

Writing in the Westminster Gazette (London), Mr. Percy Alden expresses the opinion that problematical discussions of a "yellow peril" fade into insignificance

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Still They Come!

REPORTS FROM ALL POINTS ON GREAT RED SUNDAY DEMONSTRATIONS.

(Special Correspondence.)

San Antonio, Tex., Jan. 30.—Mission Garden Hall was comfortably filled with representative workingmen Sunday afternoon, January 21. They were assembled to participate in a demonstration that was given in behalf of the Russian proletariat who were shot down in the streets of St. Petersburg, while presenting a petition to the Czar, January 22, 1905. Speeches were delivered in Spanish, German and English. A string band discoursed stirring music, and a quartette of male singers sang the "Marseillaise."

J. M. Crier, local secretary of the Socialist party, presided over the meeting and introduced the speakers. Crier also made an eloquent appeal for funds to be forwarded to the suffering and persecuted Russian working class, and in response over $20 was collected. The meeting was given under the auspices of the Socialist party, Socialist Labor Party, the I. W. W., and the Brewery Workers' Union.

Charles Mierow delivered the principal address of the meeting. He reviewed the social and economic causes that led up to the war between Russia and Japan, and gave a brief description of the present condition of the Russian working class. He painted, in glowing colors, the frightful atrocities that Russian autocracy continually inflicts upon the disinherited, and his picture of the massacre that occurred on "Red Sunday" in St. Petersburg was particularly effective and eloquent.

J. W. Fitzgerald, representing the Industrial Workers of the World, referred feelingly to the crimes that are perpetratd in Russia, and then made a practical application of the lessons, derived therefrom, to the condition of the American working class.

The last speaker on the program was Frank Leitner. Leitner is always full of his subject. His remarks were brief and to the point.

"Father Gapon, who led the proletariat to the St. Petersburg massacre," declared the speaker, "was an emissary of the Czar. He believed in continuing the present order of things. He tried to persuade the people that the Czar was all right and would do the right thing, provided they would properly petition him. It is passing strange, however, that while scores and hundreds of the working class were shot down like dogs, the Holy Father escaped without a wound.

"I tell you he was a representative of the Czar, hired to keep the people satisfied. Events since the massacre prove my assertion. He was just the sort of a chap that we have for labor leaders in America. Father Gapon, John Mitchell, Sam Gompers, Stone and others are all in the same class; they are used by capitalism to blind the eyes of the toilers so that they will be unable to see the conditions that envelop them. These fellows want present conditions to endure and do not desire that the working class should awake out of its age-long sleep of ignorance and slavery."

Cleveland, O., Jan. 30.—The first anniversary of Red Sunday was fittingly commemorated in Cleveland at a mass meeting held at Germania Hall, Monday evening, January 22. Despite the fact that the meeting was held on Monday and the weather unfavorable the hall was fairly well filled, the speakers being enthusiastically received. The audience responded nobly to the call for funds to help out the Russian revolutionists, over fifty dollars being collected.

The arrangements for the meeting were made by some ten or more organizations that had sent delegates to meet those of the Industrial Workers. The district council of the I. W. W. issued a circular a week or so before Red Sunday calling the attention of the working class to the international character of the labor movement, and to the necessity of Cleveland toilers considering the fight which the working classes of Russia are waging against the Tsar and autocracy, the fight of the workers of all countries. Most important of all, the district council asked the different organizations receiving the circular to send delegates to a conference, this conference to make arrangements for a demonstration along the lines suggested by the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels.

On the same Sunday that Section Cleveland discussed the call of the International Bureau the call of the district council of the I. W. W. was read. At the same meeting two delegates from the Socialist party were present. They had been sent by that party to ask that a like number of delegates be elected to meet them in conference, the four men to make arrangements for a meeting to be participated in by both bodies. After a discussion the section finally elected two delegates to the conference called by the I. W. W. and two to meet those of the Socialist party. The last four delegates named met and decided to attend the conference called by the district council, I. W. W. Fate in the shape of the influential pure and simplers, those holding jobs in the unions here, kept the Socialist party delegates from attending. The two delegates said they had been given full power to accept or reject any proposititon of Section Cleveland; apparently they had accepted our proposition that the four attend the conference. Hayes, Bandlow, Cowan, and others of that stripe must have seen to it that the "full power" was taken away from them when it became known that the S. L. P. delegates had won them over to our view of the matter.

Those of us who have known "Mamie" Hayes, Robt. Bandlow, and Isaac Cowan through all the years they have held fat-paying jobs in pure and simpledom expected nothing else, despite the boast of the S. P. delegates that they would not let any man in their party influence them in any way.

The incident puts the Socialist party wholly on the defensive. Numbers of their men have asked us why the two parties could not get together. We can now show them why; the reactionary trade union policy that the S. P. as an organization at least tacitly consents to pursue must keep us apart until the day comes when the true revolutionists in that party resent and join forces with the only true American representative of the international movement.

The Socialist party, of course, held a demonstration which took place the same evening as ours. Despite the fact that they hired Perry Theatre, right in the Jewish district, the meeting was nothing to ours, either in point of enthusiasm or money raised. After paying for their hall the S. P. had very little to send to Russia.

The expenses of the meeting that took place under our auspices were borne by the organizations participating in it, there being five dollars more than was actually needed; every cent raised amongst those present was sent to Russia. The test between pure and simple Socialists and those of the revolutionary, economic type resulted in a victory for the latter.

The organizations participating in the demonstration at Germania Hall, were as follows: Forest City Local, I. W. W., Musicians' Local, I. W. W., Bricklayers' Local, of the same, Cloakmakers' and Stogiemakers' I. W. W., Friends of the Bund, Local 139, Carpenters and Joiners, Cataract Lodge No. 2, A. A. I. S. & T. Workers, Polish Socialist Alliance and Jewish Workingmen's Association; also Section Cleveland.

New Haven, Jan. 29.—At a joint meeting of the "Bloody Sunday" demonstration committee, the writers were asked to write a short account of the demonstration held here, to be sent to the S. P. and S. L. P. press. The demonstration was a success in every particular, there being only a slight hitch, the Jewish speaker, a Mr. Edlin, did not appear. The parade was a success beyond our expectation, the following organizations taking part in same: Socialist party, Socialist Labor Party, Brewers' Union, Capmakers' Union, Workmen's Circle, Arbeiter Bund, Territorial Socialist Arbeiter Mannechor, Italian Federation, and a dramatic club connected with the S. P.

After the parade the meeting at the music hall was addressed by James T. Hunter, Wm. Laidler, D. De Leon, Chas. J. Mercer and an Italian speaker. All the speakers were well received. At the conclusion of the second speaker's address the band struck up the Marseillaise, and a collection was taken up which netted the Russian revolutionists the sum of $85. This will be sent direct to the international headquarters at Brussels, Belgium. It is proposed later on to publish the names of organizations which made donations towards meeting the expenses of the demonstration.

For the committee,
Louis Mass, Chairman.
Jos. Marek, Secretary,

St. Louis, Jan. 27.—Despite the rain and cold wind that prevailed here on Sunday, January 21, a good sized audience attended the meeting held under the auspices of the Central Council of St. Louis and vicinity, I. W. W., in commemoration of "Red Sunday."

Geo. Boswell, of Local No. 174, opened the meeting and introduced Wm. W. Cox, I. W. W. organizer.

Cox told of how Father Gapon was used by the master class of Russia to lead the defenceless workers to destruction a year ago, and how they then learned the lesson that they cannot depend upon a Moses to lead them out of slavery, but must depend upon themselves. He showed that the best way to help our struggling comrades in Russia was to build up a class conscious movement in this country such as the I. W. W. is. He compared the cry "Inopportune" that was uttered against the revolution in Russia to the cry "Inopportune" that is being hurled against the I. W. W. He demonstrated how necessary it is for the workers to recognize the class struggle as the I. W. W. does, in order to be successful.

Cox then read the following resolution:

Whereas, On January 22, 1905, a large body of working people, unarmed, with hands uplifted, marched to the palace in St. Petersburg, the capital of the Russian empire, with a petition to the Czar, asking his majesty to end the disastrous war, the amelioration of their own miserable lot, and grant to them some of the freedom and blessings that workingmen of other countries enjoy; but deaf to their pleadings, the Czar and his councilors ordered their dispersement, and with the use of that effective weapon of all capitalist countries, the military, massacred five thousand men, women and children in the streets, thus demonstrating that the "Little Father" Nicholas would not listen to the pleadings of his children, but that they were as mercilessly murdered as were the despised Jews, without a word in their behalf from his lordship.

The call went forth: "Russian workingmen unite, there is no more Jew, no more creed, but a united Russian working class as against the tyranical capitalist class; and our freedom must not be obtained by petition, but by demands made by the working class solidly united.

We, The Industrial Workers of the World of St. Louis and vicinity, a part of the economic wing of the revolutionary movement of the world, believe that the prediction made in regards to Russia at the International Socialist Congress in Paris, 1889, is applicable to America as well as every capitalist country: "That if the revolutionary movement triumphs, it will triumph as a working class movement or not at all"; therefore be it

Resolved, That we put forth our best efforts to build up the Industrial Workers of the World, preparatory to putting into action its Preamble which declares "That the working class must take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization"; and, be it further

Resolved, That we oppose all division of the working class, but propose to unite on the basis of material interest as demonstrated in the shop, mill, mine and factory between the employer and employe.

The chairman then stated that although Chas. Moyer, of the Western Federation, was next on the program, he was unable to be present owing to pressing business. A collection for the benefit of the revolutionists in Russia, amounting to over $12.00. was then taken up. Kate Recack then recited Freiligrath's "Revolution." She received well merited applause.

Karl Nold then spoke in German of the desperate struggle for freedom that is going on in Russia to-day. He remarked on how the Russian workers have laid aside all play and are going at it in dead earnest, and not like in this country, the so-called land of the free and home o the brave, where they beg the masters for a few more crumbs; that they do not send "labor leaders" to lobby in the corrupt halls of capitalist legislation and to beg humbly for concessions, but how effectively they use more strenuous means to demand better conditions. He also told how hopeless the labor movement in this country seemed to him until the birth of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Both speakers were frequently applauded, to which Nold replied that they had better join in with the I. W. W. to show their appreciation of their remarks than by making noise.

Spokane, Wash., Jan. 24.—Section Spokane is improving steadily in solidity. Her adherence to right principles and tactics is being rewarded with new recruits. By dint of our "cussed" persistence, the parade and mass meeting in memory of the slaughtered Russians on January 22 were a huge success. The parade, headed by Lloyd Frazure, marched through the streets and was met at the hall by the Italian Banda Rossa. Selections and the Marseillaise were played by these sympathizers until Chairman Duncan announced the speaker of the evening, Frank Bohn.

Bohn gave the history of the peasant and compared the Russian proletariat to the American wage slave. He showed clearly that they were far more advanced in organization than were the craft unions in this country. They realized the displacement of autocracy for capitalism would not in any way benefit the working class, but would ultimately bring further disaster and worse conditions than already prevail. The revolutionists in Russia are our brothers and we are bound to be allied with them to overthrow the existing governments and bring about the emancipation of the working class. We cannot stop this revolution. It must go on in whatever shape it develops, whether peaceful or bloody, in Russia, or in any other country where monarchy or capitalism predominates. No capitalist reforms will be accepted. Nothing but justice. Nothing but the full product of our toil, shall satisfy us. Though we shed our blood and die in this great battle of human emancipation, 'tis better far than that our children shall be killed by slow degrees of torture. In many ways our opportunities here are better than those of our fellow workers in Russia. We must grasp every educational chance. We must organize on the economic and political fields to accomplish our end peacefully.

Questions were asked and many points were fully explained by Bohn. Prof. Garton favored us with a song. A collection was taken up which amounted to $22.50. After expenses have been deducted, balance will be sent to the Russian sufferers.

Los Angeles, Cal., Jan. 23.—Owing to the scarceness of halls, we accepted the invitation of the Jewish Bund and Socialist Party to participate with them in the Red Sunday demonstration. Thus, the meeting was held under the joint auspices of the Jewish Bund, Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party, and the I. W. W. The two latter organizations have had brought to them the necessity of keeping a strict tab on such men as compose the local Jewish Bund and Socialist Party. To say that we were in freakish company, is putting it mild.

The first speaker, DeBlumenthal, to use the popular vernacular, came near starting a riot by asking the audience to rise and sing "America, my country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty." Groans and objections from the revolutionists put the singers and orchestra "on the bum." It was so unexpected that near everybody was hot in the collar. The S. P., S. L. P., and I. W. W. speakers on the platform had the presence of mind to keep their seats and put their share of refrigeration on "America." The chairman, F. I. Wheat, of the S. P., then stepped to the front and proposed the "Marseillaise" which was given with as good a spirit as could be expected.

After such a "blow to mother," De Blumenthal, who spoke for the Jewish Bund, told us what a free and liberal government we have. He was not very much applauded. The boys couldn't see it that way.

Next came Arthur Morrow Lewis, the English grammarian, who, after sparring all around the Russian Revolution, its cause and lessons, delved into his "skyentific" Socialism, after which he made a plea for a large collection, at which he is an artist. I don't believe he has an equal, for it quite surprised everybody, resulting in $108.

A song was then rendered by a quartette of Socialists.

Then came another surprise, another number that was not on the programme. This was in the shape of (Spook) Houghton, the "Union Labor Reform" Councilman of the Sixth Ward, who was presented as represeiting the City of Los Angeles. Here some more groans could be heard. He said that there were three parties in the class struggle, the workingman, the capitalist, and the Hydra-headed monster, the Citizens' Alliance. He expected some applause, but there was silence like that of a grave yard, for nobody could see the point. He tried his best to convince his auditors that in order to avoid the St. Petersburg massacre we would have to hitch on to the tail of the Union Labor ticket kite; but it was no go, so he cut it short.

He was followed by Claude Riddle of the I. W. W., who in a very short space of time put Houghton and his talk "on the bum," by showing the lines that the A. F. of L. was organized on and the failures it had met and why. Riddle then showed that if the working class are to win any battles they must organize into a class union such as the Industrial Workers of the World.

The last speaker, H. J. Schade, spoke of the Russian revolution from the S. L. P. standpoint, holding that although the workingmen of Russia were not in full control of the revolution they were a factor to be reckoned with; and that as a class-conscious organization, it was our duty to give finncial and moral support to them.

After a few announcements by the chair the meeting was adjourned. The money will be sent to the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels through J. Mahlon Barnes, the S. P. National Secretary. I enclose a check for $6.20 contributed by comrades and sympathizers.

In conclusion I will say that the I. W. W. and S. L. P. certainly have been shown the jeopardy in which the working class places itself, by having anything to do with the small trading class whose thoughts are so warped and twisted that any action they take brings ridicule on them and those with them.

We are holding Kangaroo court daily, fining and sentecing any one who looks as though he might have taken part in singing "America." There was some good work done, considering that 700 Weekly People, containing Debs' speech, were placed into the hands of the audience. So were cards calling attention to the Weekly People and its position on Industrial Unionism, and where sample copies could be had. L. C. M.

Kalamazoo, Mich., Jan. 28.—A good rousing meeting was held here on Sunday, January 21, by the Socialist party local and Section Kalamazoo, Socialist Labor Party combined, for the purpose of commemorating "Bloody Sunday." The organizer of the S. L. P. presided and after reading the call from the International Socialist Bureau, gave a short descriptive address of the Russian situation and showed why it was the duty of the working class of all countries to render financial as well as moral aid to the organized revolutionary working class of Russia. The organizer of the S. P. followed with a very interesting talk on the development of society from savagery, through barbarism to civilization and explained the origin of the class struggle. He then traced it through the different periods and dwelt on the struggle in Russia and made a strong plea for the Russian comrades. He was ably assisted by his wife, also a member of the S. P. local, who recited a stirring poem ,which was well received.

The collection at the meeting was $25.40; on lists, $20.10; total, $45.50; expenses, hall and advertising, $8.25; balance, $37.25, which was ordered sent to the national secretary of the Socialist party.

The joint action taken was the result of an invitation from the S. P. local, through a special committee, to Section Kalamazoo, S. L. P. The invitation was accepted and carried out to the letter.

Section Kalamazoo, S. L. P. meets every second and fourth Tuesday; has a regular study course each meeting; and is at present studying "Value, Price and Profit." After that "Wage, Labor and Capital" will be taken up.

The section also has a standing committee whose duty it is to furnish the members of the S. P. local with the Weekly People and the party's pamphlets every week, and they do it. In return we get the "Appeal to Reason" and pamphlets.

Indianapolis, Ind., Jan. 26.—On Monday last the Indianapolis local of the I. W. W. held its "Bloody Sunday" demonstration in its spacious meeting room. It proved to be a success beyond our expectations. The room was filled completely and many were standing against the walls and in the hallway by the open door.

Chairman Janke opened the meeting with a few words, calling attention to the fact that the meeting was called not for the purpose of passing resolutions of sympathy and merely pledging our moral support, but of rendering material aid to our Russian brothers and incidentally to point out the lessons to be learned by our American wage slaves from the struggle now going on across the sea.

Frank Young was the first speaker introduced and he spoke at length upon the necessity for the working class to unite industrially in order to prevent such slaughter as took place in Russia. He very clearly pointed out the weakness of craft organiaztion and showed that only in united effort could the working class ever shake off the chains that bind it.

After Young had finished, the chairman appointed two comrades to take up a collection among those present which netted $19. At the close of the meeting several others contributed another $3.50, making a total of $22.50.

Theo Bernine was introduced as the next speaker. He dwelt particularly upon the historic significance of "Bloody Sunday." He also pointed out the fallacy of the working class seeking relief at the hands of the tools of their oppressors. He showed that just as the working class of Russia, on that memorable Sunday, petitioned the "Little Father" to intercede for them, so did the Mine Workers petition "Little Father Teddy" to intercede for them in the last coal miners' strike, the result of which is too well known to all. The working class must conquer every inch of the ground itself, it cannot expect nor should it want any gifts from the hands of its oppressors.

It had been whispered to the chairman that James O'Neal, who made an address at the S. P. demonstration the night before, was in the room and the chairman invited him to take the platform, which he did. O'Neal made a short, but clean-cut talk, in which he too pointed out the necessity for the working class uniting under Industrial Unionism. In showing how crafts scab upon crafts, he called attention to the Street Railway workers, for instance, who are organized in five or six different organizations, each letting the other fight single-handed in times of strife.

Following O'Neal the chairman introduced Comrade Blum who addressed a number of Russians present in their native tongue, and his words must have been very impressive, judging from the attention he received.

The meeting then adjourned and every one voted it a howling success. Copies of the Weekly People containing Debs' speech were distributed to all.

Yonkers, N. Y., Jan. 28.—A few weeks ago, Section Yonkers, S. L. P., invited Local Yonkers, of the Socialist party, to co-operate in the arrangements of a mass meeting to commemorate "Bloody Sunday," January 22, 1905, in St. Petersburg. Local Yonkers, S. P., at its regular meeting, elected a committee of six, with full power to co-operate with a like committee of the S. L. P. in the preliminary arrangements for a mass meeting in compliance with the call of the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels.

The meeting was a success, not only financially, but in the fraternal co-operation of both parties also; and, although the audience was small (about 200) it tried its best to make up in enthusiasm what it lacked in numbers.

Dr. Levine and Henry Jaeger, both of the Socialist Labor Party, inspired the audience with their eloquence and were frequently applauded and highly commended.

The proceeds were as follows:

On lists, collected to cover expenses, $36.75; denations from Teutonia Society, $25.00; collection at the hall, $40.25; literature sold (Preamble of the I. W. W.), $1.65; total, $103.65; expenses, $45.77; balance on hand, $57.88.

Enclosed please find check for above amount which you will please acknowledge and forward to the International Bureau at Brussels.

Victor Schneider,
Member Socialist Party.

Eureka, Cal., Jan. 25.—The mass meeting held under the auspices of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party last Sunday evening to aid the Russian revolutionists proved a success far beyond the expectations of the two organizations. At 8:30 o'clock when the chairman called the meeting to order standing room was at a premium. The chairman in his opening remarks stated that it had been decided that none but members of the respective organizations should be selected to speak, as the time had come when the workers should think, speak and act for themselves, but that at the close of the meeting any individual in the audience who felt called upon to say a few words would be permitted to do so. Mrs. E. A. O'Brien acted as chairman. The first speaker dealt particularly upon the fact that a peaceful revolution was an impossibility in a country like Russia, where the workers have no political rights whatsoever, and where even the right of petition for redress of grievances is denied, citing instances in proof, particularly the massacre of the workers at St. Petersburg January 22 last year, on what is known as "Bloody Sunday", while carrying, peacefully and unarmed, a petition to the Czar. The second speaker told of the heroic struggle of the workers of Russia, how they were battling against great odds for their economic and political freedom. That it was the duty of every worker, no matter in what country he resided, to help the revolutionists by contributing such sums of money as he could afford. The speakers were vigorously applauded.

The last speaker proved conclusively that Czarism is not confined to Russia alone but obtains in every country where modern methods of production prevail. He then in a masterly fashion showed the necessity for a thorough and effective organization on the part of the workers, and it is safe to say that it was the best speech on that phase of the subject ever heard in Humboldt County. He aroused intense enthusiasm.

The chairman then called for contributions and the spirit of enthusiasm and class solidarity may be gauged by the amount collected—$50.85—which will be sent to the Russian Revolutionary Committee at Brussels, Belgium. The chairman then read the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, The workers of Russia are at the present time engaged in a struggle with the ruling class of that country for their economic and political freedom, and whereas, we recognize the fact that the interest of the workers are the same the world over, irrespective of country and boundary lines; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we, Socialists and workers in the city of Eureka, Humboldt county, California, extend to our fellow workers in Russia our most heartfelt sympathy together with such material aid as we are able to render, knowing that their victory is our victory, and their defeat is our defeat, hoping and wishing that their efforts to establish a co-operative commonwealth may be crowned with success. Long live our our Russian comrades.

H. ERICKSEN,
H. PEDERSEN
C. F. PERKINS
Committee.
E. A. O'BRIEN,
Chairman

Red Lake Falls, Minn., Jan. 25.—Pursuant to a call signed by members of the S. L. P. and S. P. of this place and St. Hilare, a Red Sunday demonstration was held in the latter place on Monday, Jan. 22, at 8 p. m. Though the thermometer was 30 below zero, the little City Hall at St. Hilare was filled. A band discoursed music. Henry Kaufer, S. L. P., opened the meeting stating its object and gave some facts about the Russian revolution. He also read the call of the International Socialist Bureau to commemorate Red Sunday, and aid the Russian revolution. Bratland, S. P., next spoke. He tried to turn the meeting into a Public Ownership party rally, but the S. L. P. successfully overcame the attempt.

Eight dollars and seventy cents collected were ordered sent to the National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party.

Lynn, Mass., Jan. 30.—Section Lynn, S. L. P., is not dead, nor even sleeping; nor are the two I. W. W. locals; nor yet the Socialist Party and the Workingmen's Circle, as shown by their combined Red Sunday demonstration. The demonstration was the best in the history of the labor movement in Lynn. $25 were collected, one half to be sent to the Bund, the other half to the Russian Revolutionary Socialist Society. To Mixed Local I. W. W. belongs the honor of initiating the demonstration.

An S. L. P. member acted as chairman. He outlined the aims and objects of the meeting and introduced Dr. Gibbs

(Continued on page 3.)

The Miners' Magazine

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UNITY CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 1.)

dilemma. There is Industrial Unionism and Industrial Unionism.

Frueh, S. L. P.—The resolution simply calls attention to the matter under consideration—the usefulness of the I. W. W. and declares that we recognize its usefulness. This is not an official, but yet is an actual endorsement of the I. W. W.

Walker, S. P.—I personally believe it would be a wise course for both of us to eliminate all reference to any particular organization and endorse the principles for which we stand, that is, Industrial Unionism. We must realize that we are only twelve men on each side. I believe the amendment to the amendment, recognizing the usefulness of the I. W. W., or organizations based upon the lines of industrial unionism, should be passed here, and not any direct endorsement. Would the I. W. W. accept such endorsement? The S. L. P. has not endorsed the I. W. W. officially. Why should we go ahead of our national organizations? I believe both the political and economic movements are necessary and should be kept separate. I was in the S. T. & L. A. and it was not until 1896 that we asked the S. L. P. to even endorse us, and then stipulated that it was a vote of feeling and respect for us. In this country the first principle is, "we want to live," and to live we must conform to certain ideas that are in vogue. If we openly endorse the I. W. W. it means hardship for some of our men. The A. F. of L. to-day is the pet, the child, practically, of the capitalist class in this country. In cities where they have control of the trades it means we will be ostracized. I don't care for the threats of a split by some; I would have a half dozen splits if necessary to get rid of some of them. In the matter of endorsing, we have no power and should not go beyond our national organizations.

Eck, S. L. P.—Let us get clear. This conference has no power to endorse or not to endorse. We are here to find ground upon which political unity can be brought about. We can only recommend to our state organizations, and if they approve, to our national organizations. The I. W. W. would not be able to accept a direct endorsement; by recognizing its usefulness we practically endorse it. We have decided that we cannot remain neutral; we have also decided that the A. F. of L. is an obstruction to a class conscious movement. This brings us to the usefulness of the I. W. W. If nothing abominably rotten can be found in it, we must recognize its usefulness. All men, including the workers, are inclined to organization. The capitalists recognize this and have manipulated the trade union movement by having the fakirs on deck. We ought also to be no deck to organize the workers along right lines. "Big Six" strike gets, not sympathy, but opposition, from other crafts. The Franklin Society of pressmen knocked them. In this typo strike unionists on the papers are setting articles knocking their striking brothers. If organized upon the basis of the I. W. W. this could not be. Talk about voting in Colorado—conditions are just as bad here. At last election it was not until I had four times demanded them that I got a complete set of ballots. Bye and bye they will have a man sitting there to decide whether or not we have the intelligence to vote.

James, S. P.—I would like to ask if there is any truth in the stories that I. W. W. men are scabbing on the printers?

Eck, S. L. P.—In the Butterick plant there is an I. W. W. engineer, and the I. W. W. wrote "Big Six" that if called upon to aid the strike the I. W. W. would order him out. (Applause by both sides.)

Question called for by S. P. side only. Hossack, S. L. P., called attention to the fact that while others wished to be heard a vote should not be taken. He had noticed that Comrade Kiehn, on the S. P. side, had tried to get the floor but failed.

Kiehn, S. P.—I wish to say but few words, and in favor of the amendment. Recognizing any particular organization means endorsement, and means we would endorse their mistakes on the economic field. It's different in the old country. Last year all the organizations in the transportation industry in Germany came to a three years agreement to effect perfect amalgamation to control industry in that line. The main thing is that all four organizations are already organized on the lines of the class struggle. I am not in favor of recognizing any particular organization, only just the idea expressed in industrial unionism. I notice that the I. W. W. has already made mistakes. I was a delegate to the Chicago Convention, and there expressed my views as to why I would not try to get the organization I represented—the 'longshoremen—to join them. The I. W. W. has made mistakes since. I judge of an organization by the actions of the men in control rather than by their mere words. Two or three pages of by-laws, adopted by no one, were printed and presented to the membership of the I. W. W. The lines of the organization are not clear, there was a compromise between factions. They have made mistakes but we know they have the right idea.

Killingbeck, S. P.—As Comrade Kiehn says, the I. W. W. have made mistakes, and if we endorse them we would endorse, would have to assume, responsibility for these mistakes. In my opinion there were too many professors at their convention. There was a "father" there, one of the leading spirits of that organization, in whom no confidence should be placed. He betrayed the S. P. and is capable of betraying the I. W. W. With the downfall of economic organization would come the downfall of the political organization. We endorse the features of industrial unionism, that is why I presented the amendment. I hope you will vote down the original motion.

Frueh, S. L. P.—It seems to me that to vote for the amendment is running away from the question. A Socialist can desire nothing better than unity, on both the economic and political fields. You will not succeed while divided. We realize that the ballot is a useful thing. We agree that we should come together. Two political parties are a hindrance to success. In order to come together we must agree on the trade union position to be taken. Really, the sole difference between us is the trade union question. If you vote for the amendment you will have decided nothing, you will have simply said, yes, we believe in an economic organization based on the class struggle. As for the I. W. W. not being perfection, I challenge any one to produce a perfect organization, an ideal one. If we cannot, then we must accept that which comes nearest to it. In the economic field we have the A. F. of L. and kindred organizations which stand for the present system, and on the other hand the I. W. W., opposed to the present system. It stands for the same principle as you—for the overthrow of capitalism. We must stand together upon the trade union policy to be pursued in the future. If you find the A. F. of L. acceptable you must stand by it. If it is the best thing offered at the present time you will have to say it is the organization you will support. The S. L. P. has not officially recognized the I. W. W., but actually it has done so. We ask the S. P. to do the same. The S. L. P. is practically a unit upon the I. W. W. If in a year from now the I. W. W. goes wrong we can say so then. Why not unite now and educate the working class? By keeping separate it tends to keep the workers apart. We want unity, and the I. W. W. wants the same thing. It is said the working class don't want Socialism; they are ready for it now—if we will but get together and enlighten them. As to political action, let us grant that the capitalist class put no obstacles in your way, and you win, the first thing you will have to do will be to organize industry. If we could under such favorable circumstances win, wouldn't it be a big advantage to have the proper organization ready? But to the extent that you cannot depend upon political measures, to that extent, the economic organization becomes all the more important.

Quinlan, S. L. P.—Will Comrade Kiehn explain what he means by something similar, something just as good?

Kiehn, S. P.—I do not understand the question. I spoke in favor of the amendment. The sense of the amendment is to favor economic organization of the workers upon industrial lines. I want to avoid the designation of any particular organization.

Smithers, S. L. P.—Comrade Kiehn is the only one to say anything against the I. W. W. It is fair to admit that certain features in it are not just what they should be. The S. P. and the S. L. P. have made mistakes, and having seen them endeavored to remedy them. Kiehn's argument does not hold water against this young organization.

The question on the amendment to the amendment being called for by both sides it was put to a vote with the result:

S. P., three for, nine against.
S. L. P., twelve against.

On the amendment to the motion it was lost by a vote of twenty-four to nothing.

The original motion then being put, the vote was:

S. P., ten for, two against.
S. L. P., twelve for, nothing against;
or twenty-two for, to two against.

The passage of the motion was greeted by hearty applause on both sides. Killingbeck, S. P., asked that he and Kiehn, S. P., be recorded as voting against the resolution.

The hour for adjournment having arrived it was decided, on motion by Glanz, S. P., that the next meeting be held in Second Ward Labor Lyceum, 100 Sheridan street, Paterson, Sunday, February 4, 2 p. m.

The same feeling of mutual comradeship that characterized the previous sessions of the Conference, and the same earnest effort after light, so as to ascertain the solid ground on which militant Socialists can unite for a united political front against the parties of capital characterized this third session.

JAMES M. REILLY,
Secretary for S. P.
JOHN HOSSACK,
Secretary for S. L. P.

VIRGINIA I. W. W.

(Continued from page 1.)

and Dougherty, volunteer to undertake their obsequies. The grave they dug for us will be filled with the remains of the defunct A. F. of L.

As a result of the agitation we were able to do at this meeting, our local took in nine new members the next night. The A. F. of L. people look like thirty-five cents. Not a word have they to say. Not one has had the face to jump upon the fence and crow. They have been silenced. They were thunderstruck. They never dreamed that our little local could bring forth men who could set down upon the "brainiest" men that they could bring upon us. They have not yet learned that the S. L. P. is training the finest class of minds out of the working class the world has ever seen. Consequently the stranger is astonished, dumbfounded when he runs up against the magnificent minds trained in logic and facts, where he has, lo, these many years! been accustomed to regard the capitalist class as the only possessor of brains and the only one who has the right to think, and of the working class as a nonentity.

The railroad shops have been supplying the most of the members so far. It is interesting to see the commotion the I. W. W. has caused in these works. The International Association of Machinists, who are still loyal, have started in to watch the new men who are constantly coming to the shops, but they generally get left in their mission, because the I. W. W. men are also upon the alert and so far have been successful in getting them into the I. W. W., or, at least spoiling them for the I. A. of M. When the craft men see this they steal the tools of these new men and thus render themselves liable to be discharged, the foreman having so threatened. The success of the I. W. W. in the railroad shops is assured. Debates are going on every noon hour and there is a constant stir. A great many men are upon the fence waiting to see upon which side to jump.

In the Navy Yards the machinists are also wrestling with the new ideas of the I. W. W. The narrow members of the capitalist craft union, the I. A. of M., are now engaged in the honorable calling of slinging mud; their stock in trade being slurs and calling of names like a parcel of school boys. We are "anarchists," "Socialists," "scabs," any old thing, except I have not heard any of them call us d—n fools yet. You see they must sling mud. They have abandoned all hopes of defending their position with logic and facts. But the quiet thoughtful members of the old unions are simply disgusted with the poor showing made by the "great" "leaders" of the A. F. of L. of this State, expressing themselves so.

What we are now after is another debate, such as the last. But you may rely upon it it is going to be exceedingly difficult to arrange for another. Not one of them will again meet us, judging by our experience last Sunday. A delegation of us were returning from the "Bloody Sunday" meeting held in Newport News. Mr. Fields, president of the Virginia A. F. of L. and one of the debaters already mentioned came up to our party and at once started a conversation during which Munro challenged him to debate the question at any time and any place and almost upon any terms he might dictate. No, sir! upon not one thing would he agree. He had had one taste of the I. W. W. and that was sufficient. We absolutely dared him to come and debate the question, but not a step would he move. As you may infer we feel like fighting cocks ready for anything that comes along and we feel victory is ours.

B. D. D.

Who Ever?—J. Adam Bede, the bright representative from Minnesota, told a story in the House the other day. Bede was talking on the Statehood bill.

"The powerful interests of the East don't want any more States in the Union," he said. "The Senators east of the Mississippi tell us we haven't enough folks in New Mexico and Arizona." Then after a pause, "Who ever heard of a United States Senator representing folks?"—Exch.

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THE MOVEMENT ABROAD

(Continued from page 1.)

by the side of the still more important question of the effect of Japan's industrial revolution upon the Japanese themselves. "The truth of the matter is that in her desire to adopt European ways and methods Japan has lost sight of the fact that it is only through great tribulation that England and Europe have overcome the worst evils of the industrial revolution.

"She herself has blindly followed in the footsteps of the West, and, regardless of the consequences, has handed over her working classes to the tender mercies of an employer who, whatever good qualities he may possess, does not attach any great value to human life. Instead of taking warning by the mistakes of Europe during the latter half of the last century, she has created in her factories and her industrial system those same evil conditions which we have been striving to eliminate for over a generation.

"Not only is the change in industry great, but the change in the character of the people is equally great. The growth of the factory system in Japan often means indentured labor, especially as regards the employment of women and children. This, in itself an evil, is perhaps a greater source of mischief because it results in the destruction of the health and happiness of large sections of the working classes. The girls and women are induced by all sorts of fair promises to leave the country for the town. Allured by the thought of high wages, with the possibilities afforded by the holidays and flower festivals of the town; attracted, also, as many peasants are in England, by the false glamor of city life, they leave the paddy field and the farm, and flock to the large centres of population. The result is that 'the field full of folk' is rapidly coming to be a thing of the past, and physical deterioration is setting in. This deterioration is accompanied by a change in the character of the people. Owing to the stress of competition, to the long hours of labor, lack of opportunities for recreation and amusement, the Japanese worker is losing his light-heartedness, his kindliness of nature, his artistic sense and polite manners.

"The employer and the capitalist are piling up wealth; the laborer, and especially the female laborer, is working for a bare subsistence, and is losing health and strength and all the old bright and happy characteristics.

"While wages have increased on the average 40 per cent., the cost of food has increased 64 per cent and rent is increasingly high, especially in the large towns, like Tokyo, Osaka and Kobe. This will account for the fact that the number of those on or below the poverty line is increasing and the number of electors decreasing. Those who are entitled to the franchise pay at least 15 yen in taxes. On several occasions factory bills have been brought before the Japanese Parliament, but these bills, of the mildest description, have failed to pass into law."

We endorse the opinion wholly, and these statements are singularly correct. There are now 8,274 factories in this country, and the number of laborers employed in these factories is estimated at 483,839, including men and women.

The number is only twice as many as that of the soldiers of the standing army and is much less than the number of the soldiers who are now returning from the front; yet they are kept in a very miserable condition. There are exceptions of course, and a few factories have high reputation in the manner of their dealings with laborers. But exceptions are exceptions, and there is no argument but that the present conditions of our laborers on the whole must be remedied somehow. Factory bills must also be passed by the Diet. To attain to this end, however, we believe it is of primary importance to reform the election law, and to solve the question of our surplus population. So long as the election law remains as it is, there is no possibility of factory bills passing the Diet, and so long as the questions of surplus population is not solved there is ever so much supply of cheap labor, and laborers are obliged to satisfy themselves with starvation wages. The leasing of Liaotung peninsular to Japan, Japan's predominancy in Korea as well as the cession of the southern half of Saghalien island will no doubt reduce more or less this surplus population, but the question will still await solution. We are therefore endeavoring first to solve these questions not in the way of capitalists do them, but for the interests of laborers. The discussions of "yellow peril" are only laughing-stocks for us.—T. S., in the Tokyo, Japan, Socialist.

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Industrial Workers of the World

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT UNION TEMPLE, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., JULY 10, 1905.

BY DANIEL DE LEON.

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STILL THEY COME!

(Continued from page 2.)

of Worcester, Mass. Gibbs dwelt on the situation in Russia and showed that a similar state of affairs existed in the United States. He spoke encouragingly of the I. W. W. and wound up his excellent speech with a clear exposition of the class struggle.

D. Mikol of Boston followed in Jewish and English. His English speech and his grasp of the Russian situation, fell on fertile grounds.

The last speaker was an Italian, but as the writer is a native of Cork, he will not attempt to say what he said.

The meeting adjourned at 11 p. m., singing the Marseillaise. All felt pleased at having done, if not our full duty toward our Russian comrades, at least something for their cause and the cause of Liberty.

Tacoma, Wash., Jan. 31.—The following "Red Sunday" resolutions were adopted on January 21 by a commemorative mass meeting held under the auspices of the S. L. P., S. P., and I. W. W.:

Whereas, On account of the death of our comrades in Russia, who were brutally murdered by paid assassins of capitalism in St. Petersburg, on January 21, 1905, the International Socialist Bureau has called upon us to commemorate in a suitable manner the anniversary of that sad event, and to also do whatever lies in our power to help our Russian comrades who are yet spared to us in their gigantic struggle against our common enemy, the capitalist class. We, the workingmen and women of Tacoma, Washington, in mass meeting assembled, do hereby send our heartiest sympathy and congratulations to our comrades in Russia for what has up to the present time been accomplished, and also what financial assistance and co-operation we are able to render at the present time.

And further realizing that their struggle is our struggle, that their loved ones who were murdered on "Red Sunday," were our loved ones, that their brothers, sisters and children were members of our class, and comrades in our cause, therefore, we pledge ourselves to support the fight as long as it shall last, in every way at our disposal, and we will not stay our hand until our fellow wage workers in Russia and every part of the world shall be liberated from the bondage of wage slavery and stand forth as free men and women in the Co-operative Commonwealth, which is our goal.

Signed in behalf of the committee representing the Socialist Labor Party, Socialist party, Industrial Workers of the World, under whose auspices this meeting was called.

T. F. Burns,
Chairman.
J. W. Smith,
Secretary.
J. C. Andersen,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Elizabeth, N. J., Jan. 31.—The following is the official report of the anniversary of "Bloody Sunday," held at Elizabeth, N. J., on January 21.

The anniversary was held under the auspices of the Socialist party, Local Union County, and the Socialist Labor Party, Section Union County, which were aided by the Karl Marx Club, the Workmen's Circle, Branch 47, and the Hungarian Socialist Club, of this city. The following are the receipts and expenses:

Receipts—Donations from societies:—From Socialist party, Local Union County, $15.00; from Socialist party, Branch 1, Elizabeth, $13.45; from Socialist party, Branch 3, Elizabeth, $5.00; from Socialist party, Branch 5, Elizabeth, $5.00; from Socialist party, First Ward Branch, Elizabeth, $10.00; from Workingmen's Circle, Branch 47, $5.00; from Workingmen's S. & D. Ben. Society, Branch 27, $10.00; from Karl Marx Club, Elizabeth, $6.28; total donations, $69.73; received on issued subscription lists, $68.18; collected at mass meeting in Sanger Hall, $56.46; total sum received, $194.37.

Expenses—For hall rent, $7.00; for car fare, Hungarian speaker, 80c.; for hand bills (Hungarian), $1.50; for hand bills (English), $5.50; fees on money orders for $178.70, 90c.; total sum expenses, $15.70; sent to C. H. Huysmanns, Brussels, Secretary Int. Soc. Bureau, $178.70; total, $194.40.

Thanking all who contributed to this worthy cause, we are, fraternally yours,

A. Bretschneider,
Treasurer.
Chas. Fallath,
John Skramovsky,
B. Burgholz,
James McCrorie,
Auditors.

Baltimore, Md., Feb. 1.—The Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist party, Arbeiter Ring, Jewish Bund, and Russian Revolutionary party held a joint "Bloody Sunday" mass meeting here, at which enthusiasm ran high, and $40.07 was collected. The Labor Lyceum Hall was crowded to the doors. The S. L. P. is to receive one-third of the collection, which share will be sent to the S. L. P. National Secretary. The other organizations are to forward the rest of the collection to Brussels through their own channels. We send enclosed $12.64, the rest will come next week when the final division is made.

Jamestown, N. Y., Jan. 29.—Inclosed please find money order for $6.05 for the Russian Revolution fund. This is the amount collected at our "Bloody Sunday" meeting, held Saturday, Jan. 20th, at the City Hall, with Boris Reinstein of Buffalo as the speaker. We had an audience of over 50 people who were very attentive during Reinstein's talk.

We had arranged a dance for Jan. 22, for the same purpose, of helping the Russian Revolutionists, but owing to bad weather, it was not a success.

I believe it is of interest to know that our Section sent a committee to the S. P. local to ask their co-operation in arranging the "Bloody Sunday" meeting. It was refused. No reason was given. They emphasized their refusal by keeping away from our meeting, to a man. The Jamestown S. P. are almost a century behind their comrades of other places in the U. S.

SECTION CALENDAR.

(Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements, The charge will be five dollars a year for five lines.

Kings County General Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m. at Weber's Hall, corner of Throop avenue and Stockton street, Brooklyn.

General Committee, New York County—Second and fourth Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York County at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and public reading room at 205½ South Main street. Public educational meetings Sunday evenings. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. headquarters and free reading room, No. 280 Jessie street. Open day and evening. All wage workers cordially invited.

Tacoma, Wash., Section headquarters and public reading room corner 12th and A street, room 304, over Post Office. Open every evening. All workingmen invited. Business meetings every Tuesday.

Section Providence, R. I., 77 Dyer st., room 8. Every Tuesday night at 8, 2nd and 4th regular business, others devoted to lectures. Science class Wednesday nights.

Section Indianapolis. Meetings first and third Tuesdays of each month, at 29½ South Deleware street, third floor.

Detroit, Mich., "Socialist Labor Auxiliary Reading Room, room 10 avenue Theatre Bldg. ,Woodward avenue. Open every evening. Sunday all day. Discussion meetings every Sunday.

Section Chicago, Ill., meets second and Fourth Tuesday in the month 8 p. m. at 155 E. Randolph st. 3rd floor.

Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday of month at 356 Ontario Street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 2.30 P. M.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every second and fourth Friday of each month, 8 p. m., at Smith's Hall, 21st and Franklin ave., 3rd floor.

Spokane, Wash., Socialist Labor Party Headquarters, Free Reading Room, 217 Front avenue.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
In 1904	34,172

Thus times do shift—each thing his
turn does hold;
New things succeed as former things
grow old.
—ROBERT HERRICK.

WELL DONE, NEW JERSEY!

The minutes, published in this issue, of the third session of the conferences, that are being held in New Jersey between representatives of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party of that State, sounding for solid ground for the unity of the militant Socialists of the land, brilliantly close the first period of the labors of the conferees.

As readers of The People will recollect, at its two previous sessions the conference arrived at the conclusion, by a vote of twenty-two to two, that "the Socialist political movement of the working class cannot remain neutral to the organized effort of the working class to better their economic condition, on class conscious revolutionary lines"; and, by a unanimous vote, that "the A. F. of L. form of organization and its principles are an obstacle to working class emancipation." With such a prelude it was virtually a foregone conclusion that earnest men were bound to reach the decision that, while the A. F. of L. is an obstacle, "the Industrial Workers of the World is useful to the proletarian movement." The conferees did so decide. The twelve S. L. P. votes were plumped solid for the motion, and they were joined by ten out of the twelve S. P. votes. A decisive majority, an emphatic utterance.

It could be none otherwise. It was not the representatives of the two parties alone that sat around the board. Invisible representatives sat beside them and hovered over their heads—the shades of workingmen, mutilated of limbs and shortened of lives, dropped on the charnel fields of capitalist exploitation; of workingwomen, unsexed in factories, and heartstrings torn by the cruel hand of Capital as it rends the mother from her babe and husband; of children deprived of their growth, the tissue and marrow, as well as the joys of their childhood, having been capitalized by the cannibal exploiter. Though intangible to feeling and to sight, this solemn representation was not intangible to sense. It dominated the conferees. It swayed them to the silent shout—

Down with the cheat of Craft Unionism!—Unite to down it!

Down with the imposter labor-lieutenant of the capitalist class!—Unite to down him!

Down with the jugglery of "Neutrality" on the economic field. It is the obscene false pretence of "Peace, peace, where there is no peace"!—Unite to down it!

Down with the charlatan pure and simple political Socialist!—Unite to down him!

Though of secondary importance, the two remaining subjects before the conference—the ownership of the party press and party discipline—also are vital. They are to be broached at the immediately succeeding sessions.

"RECIPROCAL INTERESTS."

Before us lies an application blank for a bond of the United States Guarantee Company of New York. It is a blank that an employe must fill to obtain a bond before he can obtain work. Here are some of the questions:

"Are your habits sober and temperate, and have they ALWAYS been so?"—The theory being that the relations of employer and employe are reciprocal, has not the employe also a deep interest in knowing what the habits of his prospective employer are and ever have been? Imagine an applicant for employment putting the question to a Hazen Hyde, a Seeley, a Harper, fresh from a "French Dinner" a "Pre-nuptial" or a "Little Egypt" debauch, or to Schwab, the Monte Carlo gambler!

"What property or income have you, if any, besides the compensation last referred to?"—The theory being that the relations of employer and employe are reciprocal, has not the employe also a deep interest in knowing what the employer's sources of income are? Imagine a Judge Deuel, or any of the other Judges who "direct banking interests from the bench", or the Western Union Telegraph Co. with its "pool room" annex, or the manufacturers who place all their property in their wives' names, or Rockefeller, with his innumerable alias concerns, or Railroad Co.'s with their secret mergers, or the tax-dodging perjurers—imagine any of these asked by an applicant for employment what property or income he has!

"State amount and nature of your debts, or other liabilities?"—The theory being that the relations of employer and employe are reciprocal, deep is the interest of the employe to know that the employer is solvent. Imagine one of these employers whose business is to fail, imagine the now ex-Governor of New York and ex-Vice President of the United States Morton, when he was in the clothing business, in which he failed, immediately whereupon he started a bank—imagine any of these gentlemen asked by a prospective employe what his debts and liabilities are!

"Single, married or a widower?"—The theory being that the relations of employer and employe are reciprocal, could the employe fail to reciprocate by entertaining a lively interest in the purity or impurity of the employer's private life? Imagine an applicant for employment to ask the Belmont husband of the ex-Sloan woman; or Corey, the President of the Steel Trust and adulterous paramour of an actress; or the Seligmann Cupid of Anita Sutherland; etc.; etc.;—imagine an applicant for employment asking any of these the delicate question: "Single, married or a widower?"

One could go down the list of questions, and treat them in the same way. It needs no powerful imagination to picture to oneself the looks of outraged indignation of the "reciprocator" employer, were such questions put to him by his "reciprocatee" employe. It needs no powerful ear to catch the thunderous anathemas of "Socialist!" "Anarchist!" "Disrupter of Society!" that would be hurled at the "impertinent fellow". Nor yet does it need any extraordinary imagination to see and hear these employers—after the employe was duly kicked out into the street—meet in their clubs, tell the story to one another, laugh uproaringly over it as a huge joke, and, winking the left eye, say: "The ass actually believed what our Mitchells and Gomperses stuff them with!"

THE DREDGER BILLS.

The so-called Statehood Bill, which proposes to enroll Oklahoma and the Indian Territory, New Mexico and Arizona as two new States, has aroused much discussion both in and out of Congress. To the Working Class of the territories concerned, or of the land at large, for that matter, it does not matter a row of pins whether the four territories are taken in as four, as three, as two or as one single State, or whether they, or any one, or sets of them, are wholly left out. The fate of those territories will leave untouched the only question that concerns the workers—the question of their wage slavery. Improved machinery, coupled with concentration of capital, and both in private hands, will continue to lower the value of labor and, through the displacement of hands, to drive still further down the price of labor-power in the labor-market. Statehood, or no Statehood, for the territories does not even remotely come within sight of placing the tools of production within reach of the wage slave—the only thing that concerns him. As far as the Statehood Bill itself is concerned what it will affect in the main is the complexion of political combinations in Congress. Nevertheless, so intimately are politics and economics connected that the political power of the ruling class can not be touched without tugging at the heartstrings of their purse, quite strongly at the purses of some of them. The Statehood Bill has done so. In doing so it has brought some interesting facts to the surface. In that consists its main merit to the working class; it has acted as a dredger of hidden sentiment.

The choice one among the lot, dredged to the surface by the bill is the true inwardness of the capitalist "Pillars of Law and Order." Mayor Rose of Milwaukee—a "sanctity of the family," "sanctity of the law," etc., etc., upholder—is a large holder of real estate in Phoenix, Arizona. It seems that if Arizona is joined with New Mexico to form one State the taxes of the Arizona dog-in-the-manger landholders will go up. At least they fear so. Such a prospect endangers the capacity to hold land for a boom, and of course grated on the nerves of "Law and Order." Mayor Rose, accordingly, hied him from Milwaukee to Arizona, called around him his fellow "Law and Orderites," together they held an indignation meeting, and, expressing the sentiments of his fellows, Rose, the capitalist chief official of a large city, the paragon of all the virtues that "put Socialism to shame"—Rose declared: "If this bill [the Statehood Bill] passes THE STREETS OF PHOENIX WILL BE DRENCHED IN BLOOD!"

It was not Rose, the capitalist and capitalist politician alone who uttered that sentiment. The sentiment was the joint utterance of the gentleman's fellow landholders present; they applauded him to the echo. Aye, it was a capitalist cat that leaped out of the bag—a cat that is ever ready to leap out, whether in Arizona or Vermont, Florida or Oregon.

The Statehood Bill should be called the Dredger Bill. It has dredged up a fact, of the value of which the working class may form an opinion by the anxiety of the capitalist to keep that cat in the bag—the fact that there is not a crime at which the "Law and Order" brigade will scruple, nor a risk they will not run, even to the chance of their being hanged, if the slightest danger threatens the fruition of their stolen goods—the fact that the capitalist "Law and Order" brigade ever are disposed to threaten fresh violence in order to protect the fruit of past rapine, their sacrosanct PROPERTY.

"ETHICS" AND "NECESSITY".

"The Ethics and Necessity of Labor Unions" was the subject upon which John F. Tobin of the A. F. of L. spoke before the Congregational ministers' meeting in Boston on the 29th of January. Mr. Tobin's address furnished cumulative evidence of the fact that the "Ethics" of the unionism which he advocates is of the nature of the "snakes in Ireland"—they do not exist; and that the "Necessity" for such unionism is urgent—to the capitalist class.

Said Mr. Tobin, as reported in quotation marks by the Boston Globe of the same day:

"The trades union bases its claim for existence on the fact that the buyer and the seller of labor should occupy equal grounds . . . The employer declares that he has a right to receive fair profits—WHICH IS UNDISPUTED".

"Horse-fly" means horse-fly, an insect that sucks up the blood of horses; "horse" means horse, a noble animal whom the horse-fly torments, and who would be all the better off if there were no horse-flies. He who says "horse-fly" and "horse" implies the two things—provided his ethics binds him to mean what he says and to say what he means. Obviously, the ism of the man who were to say: "The horse bases his claim for existence on the fact that the horse-fly and the horse should occupy equal grounds"—is an ism in which "Ethics" can figure only as snakes figure in Ireland—by their absence. Such is the fix of Mr. Tobin's unionism. "Seller of labor" means the proletarian—a being who is produced by a social system that lowers him from the rank of human to that of merchandise, that which he sells being, in the last analysis, himself; "buyer of labor" means capitalist—the being, whose class brought about the system that produces the proletarian, who upholds that system, and who cannot exist without the continuance of the proletarian. The ism that bases its claim for existence on the fact that the "buyer" and the "seller of labor" should occupy equal grounds, holds identical ground with the man whose ism were to declare that "the horse bases his claim for existence on the fact that the horse-fly and the horse should occupy equal grounds". He who holds such language either recklessly shoots off his mouth on an important question without recking what he is talking about, or he speaks against better knowledge.—No "Ethics" there, in either case.

Again, the ism that were to say: "The horse-fly declares that he has a right to a fair share of the horse's blood—WHICH IS UNDISPUTED" is unquestionably a "Necessity" for the horse-fly. No horse-fly, either individually or as horse-flydom, would otherwise than dote on such an ism. Such is the "Necessity" of Mr. Tobin's unionism. The unionism that accepts as "undisputed" the declaration of the capitalist horse-fly that he has a right to receive fair profits (enough proletarian blood, marrow and bone to live on) is undisputedly a "Necessity" to the capitalist class; why, it is the breath in the nostrils of the capitalist horse-fly.

So say we all! So know we all! So knowing and saying the awakening proletariat is organizing to cast off its back the "Ethical" Tobins, together with their Unionism, that is becoming so rotten-ripe for overthrow that it can no longer suppress the stench of its "Necessity" to capitalism.

A BUNGLING SOCIAL SURGEON.

"Divorce should be abolished. Polygamy is a lesser evil, as it is a grouping of wives and is hindered by expenses, while divorce is merely driving wives tandem, and the question of expense does not figure"—so runs a passage from a speech reported to have been delivered this week by Archbishop Moeller at Cincinnati. If Mgr. Moeller was reported correctly, the gentleman must be tickled to death by the document just published by the Secretary of State of Massachusetts. Mgr. Moeller's goal, the abolition of divorce by capitalist process is therein foreshadowed as near at hand.

The Massachusetts document furnishes the proportion of divorces to marriages for five years since 1890, down to 1904. Placing the figures graphically we obtain this table:

Year	Proportion of divorces to marriages
1890	1 divorce to every 31.9 marriages
1895	1 divorce to every 24.2 marriages
1902	1 divorce to every 17.4 marriages
1903	1 divorce to every 15.6 marriages
1904	1 divorce to every 15.3 marriages

As far as this showing goes, it would seem that the number of divorces is on the increase. In 1890 there was 1 divorce to every 31.9 marriages; in 1904 there was 1 divorce to only every 15.3 marriages, or 1 divorce to half the number of marriages. The increase, however, is in seeming only. Taking the figures of the table together with another set of figures furnished by the same document, a different face is put upon the case. The actual number of divorces granted in Massachusetts in 1903 was 1,721; in 1904 the number had decreased to 1,698—or 23 fewer. Not much of a decrease, 'tis true, yet quite enough, in conjunction with the fact that the number of marriages in proportion to every 1 divorce had also declined from 1903 to 1904, to show the trend, to point the moral and adorn the tale.

The two sets of figures denote that in Massachusetts, for one, the well-spring of divorces—marriage—is drying up. There can be no "divorce" without there having been previously "marriage." The fewer the marriages, the fewer the divorces possible; no marriage, no divorce. It is as plain as, No legs, no toes for corns to grow on. Capitalism, which Mgr. Moeller upholds, cuts off by inches the leg, the toes of which might bear corns—it slowly suppresses marriage, without which divorce is impossible. How cause is leading to effect the Massachusetts document proves. Great must be the joy of Mgr. Moeller.

It is to be hoped, and the expectation is justified, that an enlightened Working Class will come to the rescue of society against the bungling surgeons of which Mgr. Moeller is a type. A bungler is the surgeon who would abolish corns by the amputation of legs. The intelligent promoter of physical comfort prescribes good foot-wear. Likewise, and for similar reason, a bungling social surgeon is he who would end the ulcer of divorce by what is the equivalent of amputation—the continuance of the capitalist system that renders marriage rarer and rarer.

CAUGHT IN A CLEFT STICK.

Droll are the contortions of the Perry-Post crowd in their "Square Deal." The editors and contributors rack their brains for arguments against the "Closed Shop" and in favor of the "Open Shop," as well as for illustrations to illume their arguments. Ancient and modern, sacred and secular, Christian and heathen archives are ransacked for material. It should not be difficult to fish out of such a vast pond sayings and arguments enough, which, when wrenched out of their historic context and properly garbled, would furnish any argument that one may want. And yet, the Perry-Post crowd are seen doubling and twisting, not as an elegant snake deftly winding its way between grassblades, stumps and stones but like one in contortions, fearing to strike himself whichever way he turns—and prime is the lesson therein.

The "Closed Shop!" is the cry of craft Unionism. Whom is it wanted to "close out"? Is it the capitalist? Why, no! As far as the capitalist is concerned, craft Unionism pledges its support to the gentleman, and loyally strives to keep him in possession. Not the CAPITALIST is the shop to be closed against; for that craft Unionism is too much of a "Pillar of Society." Them whom the shop is to be closed against are OTHER WORKINGMEN. Such being the facts, one should think that when the Perry-Post crew come walzing down the pike to the tune of the "Open Shop!" as the only original lovers and the true liberators of the workingman, they should have an easy course, so easy that their posture would, not merely be unconstrained, but marked with all the ease and elegance that marks apostle-paladins of Liberty. Why, then, the contortions? For the simple reason that the Perry-Post crew, having, not the liberation, but the enslavement of the workingman for their purpose, are in mortal trepidation lest, in pursuit of THEIR "Open Shop," they drop a word that may illumine the path of the workingman and open his eyes to the path he should strike—the OPEN UNION.

The Perry-Post crew are caught in a cleft stick. The wrongfulness of the Closed Shop can be driven home only by arguments that lead directly to the Open Union. If, accordingly, the heinousness of the craft Unionist's position is to be shown, the result is the Open Union; if the Open UNION is to be avoided, then the arguments against the Closed Shop are lame. If the Perry-Post crew lay full emphasis upon the fact the the reason why there are at all workingmen against whom the craft Union wants to close the shop is that the craft Union deliberately goes about to keep the majority of the workingmen out of the Union,—if the Perry-Post crew do that then they run the danger of furnishing arguments for the Industrial Workers of the World form of Unionism, and thereby would help conjure up the tidal wave that would (and will) swamp them; if, on the other hand, the Perry-Post crew try to escape this dread horn of the dilemma, then they impale themselves on the other by depriving themselves of the only powerful weapon with which to crush the "tyrant" against whom they claim to have taken the field—the craft Union—and present the lamest of appearance. Which way shall they turn? If one way, their fight is so futile-weak that it makes them look ridiculous; if the other way, then they but promote their own doom.

Marx says that the capitalist class have every reason to fear the ignorance and every reason to dread the enlightenment of the working class. They are all—Belmontites and Perry-Postites alike—caught in a cleft stick. But drollest of all is the plight of the latter as they contort themselves in the effort to avoid the fix they are in.

The Russian reports of the slaughter along the railroads of defenseless people by government troops, are accompanied by luminous comments. One says: "Col. Reimann's actions were in no way a victory over the internal enemy, but were simply the murder of quiet, defenseless persons." Another runs thus: "From other provinces come personal narratives which go to show that the kind of peace that has been restored, as a condition precedent to the promised reforms, is the kind that Col. Reimann established along the Moscow-Kazan railway." It was just such "peace" and "promised reforms" as these that brought Russia to her present pass; and it is such "peace" and "promised reforms" that will fan the fires of revolution. Truly, the Russian revolution is not ended; it has only begun.

The United Mine Workers' officials are to be congratulated on the fine muddle they have got the miners into. They are going to lead the latter into a "strike" at the end of the winter season, with storage yards piled high with coal, the prospects of an industrial reaction looming up, and the pure and simple railroad "labor" organizations, together with the Federal and State executive, militia and judiciary arrayed against them. Can a $6,000,000 fund win a strike with 500,000 men out under such circumstances? Pay each striker $6 a week and that immense amount of money will disappear in two weeks. It's about time that the miners threw their "Napoleons of labor" overboard.

Lost, strayed or stolen, 1, the unalterable determination not to yield to the railroad interests in the matter of rate regulations, formerly possessed by the world-renowned Rough Rider; 2, the brilliant anti-trust victory over the packers won by the young man with the famous pedigree, now called Commissioner of Corporations; and, 3, the splendid manner in which Missouri—Missouri of "You must show me" fame—has shown us how to bust a trust operating in Missouri in New York, an old device improved upon by one Hadley. These are invaluable assets, and as we need them in our business, we will pay liberally for their prompt return. No questions asked. Address, Trust Buster and Restrictor, Any-old-place, United States of America. Hours from 12 a. m. to 11.59 p. m.

A contemporary says:

"Among the sixty-five members of the party of the Chinese Imperial Commission now touring this country to study our social, economic and industrial systems, one Mr. Soa Chiany Thomas Sze of Shanghai, is a 1905 graduate of the school of Mechanical Engineering in Cornell University. From San Francisco the party went to Washington, and during February they will visit the colleges of the East. A surprisingly large and an increasing number of the Chinese who will make the pace for their country a little later on are now training in the American colleges. The leaven of their Western learning will work astonishing results as they return to their native Orient and take up the work of adjusting the most ancient civilization of the world to modern conditions."

"The leaven of their Western learning will work astonishing results as they return to their native Orient"—you bet it will! The modern proletariat will be created in China.

"I may be crazy, but I am no fool," sings the jolly hero of a coon song. Likewise may the Russian working class be "ignorant" (according to capitalist notions as to what constitutes ignorance and intelligence), but it is no fool any longer. The Russian capitalist class may succeed, by the aid of machine guns, to cowe the workers into submission; but the bogus labor union racket, a la A. F. of Lism, can not be successfully worked on them any longer.

The Dark Lantern Turned On Sneak Thieves

Apropos of the death in Paterson, N. J., of Joseph P. McDonnell, long known as a "labor leader" in that State, the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" of January 22 says that, about the middle of the seventies, the then SocialistIC Labor Party set up an English organ, "The Labor Standard" with McDonnell as Editor, and that, shortly thereafter, on "one fine morning, the party awoke to find that the paper, together with all its appurtenances" had vanished; "the same had been secretly transferred to another building, and forthwith declared itself 'independent' of the party." The "Volkszeitung" concludes from this that the paper having "belonged to the party," therefore "belonged to nobody," hence the party was powerless, and, consequently, only "those who know not what they are talking about" combat the idea of "legally" incorporated and privately owned party papers.

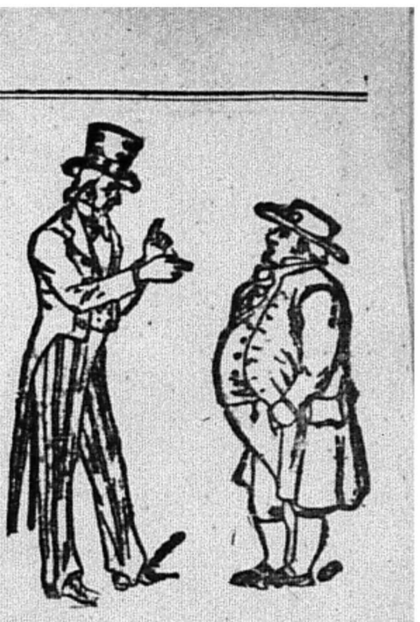
The People is in position to say, in the first place, that it has inquired into the matter and that, as was to be expected, the principal allegations of fact made by the "Volkszeitung" are false; in the next place, that, even if the allegations were true, the conclusion attempted to be drawn from them will not hold water.

Granted, for the sake of the argument, that the "Labor Standard," together with its appurtenances, was the property of the SocialistIC Labor Party, and that McDonnell seized the property over night and moved away with it,—granted that, for the sake of argument—then there was a case of burglary. Burglary is nothing new or rare. Hardly a day passes but the offense is committed. Yet who would say that, seeing that burglary is committed, "only those who know not what they are talking about" would advise the use of doors, locks and keys? Such a style of reasoning could occur only to the class of people who in Germany are called "Kameele" and "Kaffern" and who are here known as "Timbooctooers." The commission of burglary is no argument against precautions to prevent burglary. Not because there are thieves prowling around should one, from the outset, surrender to thieves. Seeing that a party can be cheated by private interests out of its own, all the stronger are the reasons to protect the Party's interests against burglars.

The facts, however, are different from those given by the "Volkszeitung." It is not true that the Party owned the "Labor Standard." The opposite is true. The "Labor Standard" was private property from its inception, and McDonnell was the owner. The Party was the owner of the "Labor Standard" only and exactly in the sense that the Volkszeitung party, called by some the Social Democratic or Socialist party, is the owner of the "Volkszeitung" and "Worker," or of the funds for the muchly promised "Daily Call." The folks who are appealed to for donations for these papers are told the papers are theirs—so were they told in the case of the "Labor Standard"; but, exactly as in the case of the former papers, the innocents who believed and chipped in were fooled. As fast as any one, not a member of the private Volkszeitung Corporation, or of the corporation of the alleged "Daily Call," parts with his money he has parted with his property, and got nothing in exchange. The said corporations own paper and funds, and can do as they like, without responsibility to the innocents who "believed." The corporations can suppress what news does not square with their interests; they can mutilate and forge information; they can issue calls for starting hostile parties or rings within the party; they can convert the funds to whatever purpose suits them—exactly as the Volkszeitung Corporation has done and is doing, and no outsider can interfere. This was the case with the "Labor Standard." What McDonnell did is exactly what the Volkszeitung Corporation, and all other private corporation, does and will do. The innocents who found themselves "helpless" and looked as if they had awakened from a dream when McDonnell did what he liked with the "Labor Standard"—those innocents are a mirror for the latter day innocents of the Volkszeitung or Socialist party to see their own startled faces in.

Cold is the comfort that the schemers, who seek to appropriate a party of Socialism for their private pockets and nasty schemes by the certain manoeuvre of privately and "legally" owning the party's press, will find in the history of McDonnell's "Labor Standard." That history is a dark-lantern that flashes its light square into the faces of these schemers. It exposes them red-handed.

"Another coal strike predicted for April 1"—reads a news headline. Better call it another coal sell-out, suicide or slaughter; strike it is not and cannot be under the principles and tactics of Mitchell and Co.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I must have been dreaming all my born days.

UNCLE SAM—Are you making discoveries?

B. J.—It almost looks that way to me. Just think of it: When I struck with my fellow switchmen in Buffalo to uphold the ten-hour law, Governor Flower, the Democrat, swooped down upon us with the whole militia of the State and gave the victory to the bosses who were grinding us down.

U. S.—So he did.

B. J.—Then I went to work as a 'longshoreman on the Erie Lake, and Mark Hanna, the Republican, cut our wages in two; and when we struck he knocked the stuffings out of us with policemen's clubs.

U. S.—Too true.

B. J.—And then I got a job as a trainman on the Chicago & Rock Island Road, and when we demanded that our fellow men at Pullman be not treated as beasts of burden, good God, how didn't Cleveland, the Democrat, and Woods, the Republican, knock us into as many cocked hats with their soldiers and their gatling guns on paper, and how didn't the Republican Depews and the Democratic Whitneys approve of these, their transactions!

U. S.—Indeed they did.

B. J.—Now from all this I had drawn my conclusions.

U. S.—To what effect?

B. J.—To the effect that these capitalists were a lot of scalawags, who looked upon us workers as their legitimate beasts of burden, that had to be whipped blind if they roared or kicked.

U. S.—There are no flies on that conclusion.

B. J.—But here comes the puzzle—.

U. S. (looking around)—Where?

B. J.—Right here; the identical Democratic politicians who browbeat us before are now making speeches in which they say: "There is no conflict between capital and labor. The interest of the workers are the interest of the employers. And it behooves us, who are employers to resist with might and main the lowering of the wages of the working poor."

U. S.—That's very loving.

B. J.—And the identical Republican politicians who shot us and helped the bosses suck us dry are holding the same language.

U. S.—The love of these people for the working class seems to bloom like the rose in June.

B. J.—And aren't you puzzled?

U. S.—Where at?

B. J.—At so much love pouring forth from quarters that otherwise only pour down oppression upon us?

U. S.—Not a bit.

B. J.—Well, which is which? Are these Republicans and Democrats our real friends or are they are enemies after all?

U. S.—Don't you remember that Scotch terrier that snapped and growled at you yesterday when you called at John Jones'?

B. J.—Blast the brute! I could have broken its neck.

U. S.—Did you love him?

B. J.—Not much, I did.

U. S.—And yet I overheard you addressing him in these endearing terms: "Good doggy, sweet doggy; pch, pch; come, come nice doggy!"

B. J.—What would you have me do? Growl at him and have him tear me all to pieces?

U. S.—Just what you did to John Jones' doggy is what these Republicans and Democrats are now doing to us. They have been treating us as dogs, using workingmen to satisfy their pleasures, skinning us, outraging us right and left. Now comes election time. They want to get into office—a sort of John Jones' house—where they will be able to carry on their system of fleecing us, each side of them, though wanting to get there to the exclusion of the other, so as to have our whole hide to itself. But now it so happens that there are one hundred workingmen's votes to those Republican and Democratic capitalists one, and we workingmen are growing in their way; they need our votes to get in; they want to keep us from voting for ourselves and want us to vote for them.—Hence their present love. Hence we are now "good doggy," "sweet doggy," "nice doggy." Catch on?

CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDES THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

THINKS WE ARE DEGENERATING.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—It seems to me that since the friendly attitude of the S. L. P. men towards the S. P. was inaugurated by the Weekly People, the latter's editorials are not as vigorous, manly, refreshing as they were before this sudden unholy alliance. Perhaps Corregan is wrong. But right or wrong, he is entitled to be heard as often as Mr. Debs, or any one else. Yet notice a kick from an S. L. P. man because, as he says, the majority of the Party is in favor of the I. W. W. and cares not to give space to those who are opposed to it.

The last issue of the Weekly People has two columns of an alleged insult to a wife of a capitalist. Thousands of working girls are insulted every day and nothing is said about it. The editor of The People has that rare faculty of awakening working class sentiments in the breasts of the wage workers and it seems to me that the Weekly People should not have anything in it except working class news and working class philosophy.

Yours for the revolution,
Sympathizer.

New Orleans, Jan. 27.

[As to whether we are degenerating, our correspondent would surely not think so if he had access to the press of the pure and simple craft unions and of the pure and simple political Socialists. The howls the allied set are emitting would rather suggest that we have found the fountain of perpetual youth which Juan Ponce De Leon sought but failed to find, and that we are taking a daily plunge in it.

As to the "a wife of a capitalist" two columns story in The People, our correspondent probably refers to the speeches made in Congress against the President on the Mrs. Morris incident. Would our correspondent like The People to exclude the revelations that the capitalists make against one another at their Life Insurance, Gas, Standard Oil and other investigations? These are not working class news"; yet they are fuel under the caldron of Revolution. The capitalist press suppressed the best parts of the speeches in Congress on the Mrs. Morris affair. The People published them, thereby informing the working class on the revelations made by capitalist politicians concerning the character of the chief political representation of the capitalist class. Our correspondent had better read the matter over again. He seems to have missed the point.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

FUNDS FOR RUSSIA.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed I send you the list of Santa Cruz Socialists who collected $22.90 for the Russian Revolutionists' Fund and sent it to me. They ask you to publish the list in the Weekly People. Hoping that you will act according to the request of the Santa Cruz Socialists,

M. Romm.

New York, January 30.

(Enclosure.)

H. P. Jacquet, $5.00; Herbert C. Johnson, $5.00; Oliver Boyea, $1.00; W. W. Warren, $1.00; P. Paul Hartmann, $2.50; Geo. Cureton, 50c.; E. B. Williams, $1.00; J. B. Livengood, 10c.; Arthur Chubb, 5c.; J. Hopkins, 50c.; G. Germaine, $1.00; C. W. Jensen, $1.00; W. H. Gregory, 50c.; Geo. Harris, 50c.; John M. Pugh, 50c.; Jos. Grahamer, 50c.; W. Ed. Maxcy, 50c.; A. Francesconi, 25c.; Chas Roesiger, $1.00; Kelly Bros., 50c.; total, $22.90.

TAKING TIPS FROM THE SOCIALISTS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Last night I attended the mass meeting held at Cooper Union, under the auspices of the Constitution League, which is organized for the purpose of agitating for negro suffrage in the South.

The secretary of the League, in the course of his remarks, referred to the fraternal spirit and unity of purpose of the Socialists the world over, saying that whenever a letter was written by one Socialist to another, be it from Russia or Japan or anywhere else, it always began: "Dear Comrade," and ended "Yours for the Revolution." So he asked the audience to be of the same unity and steadfastness of purpose in the matter before them.

There was great applause during the speaker's reference to the Socialists. The writer of these lines wondered much if the applauders knew the import of the speaker's compliment to us Socialists. Though none of the speakers of the evening went so far as to openly declare for revolution in the matter of negro suffrage, there were vague suggestions of it, and one of the members of the League in a private conversation said to the writer: "This will be a second John Brown story." Ah, but will it? We doubt. The disfranchisement of the Negroes of the South will be followed by the disfranchisement of the whites—it is so already, as has been shown by Comrade Brimble. This, along with the industrial development of the South, will tend to bring the white and black proletarians together against a common enemy—and then there may be a Revolution, but it will be the Sosial Revolution.

Speed the day!
Yours for the Revolution,
Alberic G. Lightbourn.

New York City, February 2.

DEBS ON CRAFT UNIONISM.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The first of the series of three speeches delivered by Eugene V. Debs, in this city, November 23, 24 and 25 is out at last. It is the best of its kind, to say the least. "Craft Unionism" is the title. Debs showed his ability and fitness during these three speeches.

The writer heard Debs many times before, but never did he see or hear him more sincere and willing to explain things that may not have been made clear through the course of the lecture, as he tried to and did satisfy all present.

After a few introductory remarks, Debs opened the lecture with the following:

"For many years I have been connected with one and another of the trade unions.

"Indeed, since February, 1875, when I first joined the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, I have been an active member of a trade union: and during that time I have had some experience by virtue of which I trust I have profited sufficiently to enable me to determine whether a trade union is organized for the purpose of serving the working class or not."

He then proceeded with the evidence. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is the first that Debs takes as an illustration and proves it to be a capitalist concern. Debs shows how the late P. M. Arthur, its former grand chief, was nothing else than a tool in the hand of the railroad corporation.

The United Mine Workers are next, and the way Debs handled this organization is simply a masterpiece. He shows that, although numerically strong, the U. M. W. cannot, nor do they care to do anything, for its members. The reasons are set forth as follows: they do not recognize the class struggle, they vest all power in the head of the organization. Those heads become tools to the capitalist class, hence, their failures.

The "borer from within" came in for his share. He is called on by the speaker to show that the position of the "borer from within" is a historic possibility. Debs denies it. He says: "It is historically impossible to change an organization that has run its course."

In following up the total failures accomplished by the old trade unions, Debs shows why the capitalist does not destroy the old unions altogether. The reasons are obvious. If the old unions were crushed altogether, new and better ones would take their place. That would not do. So rather than to have a real union, the capitalists leave the old trade unions exist.

Especially it is interesting where Debs shows the "making of a labor fakir."

The Boiler Maker Helpers' Union No. 8 have withdrawn from the present body and applied for a charter to the I. W. W. The I. W. W. headquarters have literature in the following languages: Jewish, Spanish, Bohemian, Polish, German, and, of course, English. Send for some.

A. Poley.

Chicago, Ill., January 30.

SLOBODIN'S HILQUIT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Hilquit's "Secretariat", which the Volkszeitung Corporation organized to give him a soft snap lawyer's job, is being got onto well. Cigarmakers' Union No. 90 some time ago caught onto Hilquit's game and pulled out when he began piling on the charges, despite the regular fees. Hilquit has ever since been trying to get them back; but last week, a proposition to that effect was defeated by a general vote of the membership.

Cigarworker.

New York, Feb. 1.

AS TO THE RITUAL OF THE I. W. W.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The action of Local 160, I. W. W., in protesting against the ritual, or initiation ceremony and the closed door, should, in the writer's opinion, meet with a spontaneous endorsement from every local having the welfare of the organization at heart. What is an oath? It is conceived in the brains of schemers as a powerful weapon to subjugate the less cunning, and to protect the property, goods and chattels stolen from their victims. And for that accursed purpose the oath has been used in all ages. It was never meant for the purpose of keeping the plundering, or ruling, classes in line, They have broken it whenever it suited their purpose.

The oath has always been a feature of initiation in other organizations; in some as a matter of form and without any special significance; in others, particularly of a revolutionary character, for protection against spies and informers, but history teems with instances proving the futility and absurdity of the ceremony. The closed door was for the same purpose. When cowardly ruffians could be bought for gold the oath and the closed door offered no protection to the membership. This, of course, applies to secret organizations, or those which from circumstances and the conditions surrounding them, were compelled to work under cover. The I. W. W., having nothing to hide, need not adopt the oath or other secret methods in perfecting the organization.

To a revolutionist, who has gone through the farcical ceremony in joining a secret organization which embraced a limited circle only, it is not clear why an applicant for membership in the I. W. W. should be compelled to take an oath and then to sneak, like an outlaw, into some dark recess to help transact the business of his local.

There is one thing more important than all, which in this connection suggests itself, and that is that each applicant be made acquainted with the aim and object of the I. W. W., and unless he fully understands the same and agrees thereto, hold his application over until he qualifies. In other words, have a list of questions prepared and if the applicant answers them satisfactorily, having met all other requirements, enter his name in the lists without further fuss or rigamarole.

Half an hour at least should be devoted to educational purposes at the meetings of every local. The necessity for this will become apparent as the organization grows, and surely enough men can be found to give the desired instructions.

P. D.

New York, February 2.

THE QUESTIONS ANSWER THEMSELVES.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—On the evening of Jan. 13, John W. Slayton of Penn., National Organizer of the Socialist Party, addressed a fairly good audience. Mr. Slayton, is an entertaining speaker and devoted most of his time to answering the stock objections urged against Socialism. And though the audience carried away with them a very good idea of what Socialism is not, yet they were left in the dark as to what the Socialist philosophy is.

I am not criticising the man or his method. We should have had another evening or two.

One thing, however, which surprised some of us was that instead of attempting to reorganize our defunct Local, the speaker devoted his after-time to presenting for our consideration a project for starting a privately owned paper in the city of Portland, Ore.

The proposition met with rather a damp reception, as some of us entertained a vague suspicion that the comrade was departing from his mission whereunto he was called. And if Comrade Slayton represents the S. P. position on the question of economic organization, then we "heritics" and the S. P. have certainly come to the parting of our ways. In reply to questions asked after the lecture the comrade stated, first, that the Socialist Party press could not consistently support the I. W. W. until said organization changed its constitution; second, that Haywood had told him in private conversation that they were being overborne with applications for membership. That it (the I. W. W.) was going altogether too fast for its own good; that it needed to make haste more slowly.

We maintained that the Marxian theory was that the political organization must be the outgrowth of the economic organization; that only a triumphant dominating class conscious industrial organization can make and keep politics class conscious; that for this very reason the S. P. has hitherto failed signally in keeping the membership from following the "good man" and the reformer into the by-paths of opportunism. An editorial opinion answering the questions above raised would be gratefully received.

These fields in the erstwhile wooly West are becoming fallow for the missionary.

Class-consciously,
J. F. Stark.

Lynden, Wash., Jan. 22.

BOSTON "MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP."

To the Daily and Weekly People—Numerous are the instances showing the clear view of the Socialist Labor Party in its hostile attitude toward Municipal Ownership under Capitalism. About the time the municipal printing plant was foisted upon the city, ex-Representative and "Socialist" James F. Carey and ex-Mayor and "Socialist" John H. Chase, both of Haverhill, were wont to put their knees under the mahogany and while the champagne fizzed and the roast duck, etc., disappeared into their capacious stomachs, (both gentlemen were very lean when they left their comrades in the Haverhill factories), they toasted their host, the Democratic Mayor of Boston, Josiah Quincy, and declared that "things were coming their way" and called on the rank and file of the then Social Democratic party of Massachusetts to salute "Comrade Quincy," and heed not the De Leonite cranks, who, in a thousand years could not get to "where they were at," with "Comrade Quincy." The latter is very true. To-day, the Boston "Journal" has this to say of the "municipal printing plant":—

"To-day, as every day since the printing plant was established, it is used as a snug harbor for the friends of politicians. So long as it is thus employed it cannot be run on business principles, and cannot compete honestly with those which are conducted for business purposes. It must not be forgotten that the first cost of the plant was a deliberate swindle of the taxpayers in the name of municipalization. That was the purchase of a broken-down plant which had to be sent to the junk heap within two years to make way for a new outfit."

To-day there are very many who say "I'm a Socialist too," and when asked 'What are you doing to help in establishing the Socialist Republic?" they are invariably found clinging to the coattails of some capitalist Municipal Ownershipite, who in turn, is trying to convince the taxpayers that it pays, and the capitalist politician that its espousal will land him and his henchmen into a sea of graft. So, when an opening is made, like the purchase of the printing plant (once owned by Cachman, Keating & Co.) by the city of Boston, it becomes a veritable orange to the suckers, who utilize every part of it, rind, seeds, etc. Then the taxpayers howl, then the Socialist Mayor(?) is discredited and down goes "Humpty Dumpty, Socialist Carey and all." Thus is the "d—n De Leonite" vindicated once more!

M. D. FitzGerald.

Boston, Jan. 29.

AS TO THE CANADIAN S. P.

To the Daily and Weekly People—It is asserted that, upon the occasion of Comrade Debs' visit here under the auspices of the Socialist Party of Canada there will be no discussion or questions allowed and that it has been distinctly understood between the speaker and his employers that only abstract Socialism must be talked; I. W. W. MUST not enter into the address. What does it mean?

James M. Reid.

Toronto, Jan. 29.

[We are not clear what the question imports.

If our correspondent means to ask whether we consider that the times are still green enough for addresses on abstract Socialism to be of any use, our answer is—Yes, in spots there is still much to be done by abstract Socialist addresses.

If he means to ask whether we consider the platform of a party, that calls itself Socialist, a fit platform for such abstract addresses, that exclude the practical question of the necessity of the I. W. W., our answer is—No, we hold such platforms should do more practical work.

If he means to ask whether we are surprised at the Canadian S. P. for making such a demand, our answer is—No, the the Canadian S. P. is a pure and simple political Socialist affair.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

THE I. W. W. IN TEXAS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Lest our comrades in other parts conclude that "Texas has no I. W. W. movement," I shall report some of our doings. Comrade Fitzgerald, organizer for the I. W. W., is doing much in the way of agitation preparatory to organizing new and increasing the membership of the two locals of this city. The I. W. W. was the prime mover in arranging a demonstration on "Red Sunday." The same was participated in by the I. W. W., the S. L. P., the "S. P.," and the local of brewery workers. The event was a decided success in every way, there being $21.00 collected for the Russian revolutionists. The amount will be late in reaching headquarters owing to the circumstance that the secretary of the "S. P.," being chairman of demonstration meeting, received and hurriedly sent the $21.00 collected to the secretary of the "S. P." of the U. S., and without instructions from the committees of the various organizations who participated. At the next meeting of the I. W. W. the facts were learned and the writer and Comrade Fitzgerald, as members of the arrangement committee, raised the question of the impropriety of the chairman performing a function that properly came before the committee. Furthermore the inconsistency of sending the fruits of the efforts of the I. W. W. to the secretary of an organization which opposes the I. W. W. and supports the A. F. of L., was emphasized and our "S. P." friend was instructed to recall the amount and forward it to the source from which the call was issued to us—the S. L. P. headquarters.

As stated above, Comrade Fitzgerald is doing good work here, having brought in forty (I believe) applications for the local of the transportation department yesterday. He is one who leaves with all the impression that he is thoroughly in earnest in his desire and determination to properly organize the workers, as our local capitalist press admits. I may also add that he entertains an intense hatred for the grafters, having refused to be made acquainted with one Baird, of Kansas City.

At our demonstration the local skates were challenged to debate the relative merits of craft "unionism" and Industrial Unionism, but there has been no response. The pure and simplers here have a sheet called the "Weekly Despatch." The alpha and omega of its editors' knowledge of economics seems to be that "Brother" so and so "went in to buy him a hat and the clerk showed him one that didn't have no label," and, "Brother" so and so "went into a store to get a pair of pants and the clerk didn't have a card," etc., etc., ad nauseaum. Having these facts in mind, Fitzgerald very appropriately dubbed it the "Weekly Disgrace."

Hoping to report further progress in the near future, I am, fraternally,

J. V. Kendall.

San Antonio, Tex., January 28.

A BOSTON GERMAN ON THE "VOLKSZEITUNG."

To the Daily and Weekly People—The Volkszeitung Corporation stands not for the interest of the working class It goes hand in hand with the American Federation of Labor and Republican and Democratic party politicians as union men. Both parties stand for the protection of the boss and when the union men go on strike, protect the scab.

Can you consistently believe that those Republican and Democratic scab protectors are for the benefit of the working class? No. To protect the bosses and his scabs means to lower the standard of living of the working class.

The capitalist class holds possession by law of that which the workingmen produce. These laws are made by men and can be changed by men. In this country where the workingmen have the franchise, they can elect their own men if they are united.

The Volkszeitung keeps the working men divided, thereby becoming the tool of the capitalist class. Just as the shoemaker knows he needs a tool for his making a pair of shoes so the capitalist class needs its tools to keep men divided.

K. B.

Boston, Jan. 29.

WILLIAMS IN TUOLUMNE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—As there is no Section in our little town, we have taken it on ourselves to inform you of the visit of Comrade B. H. Williams, National Organizer S. L. P., and I. W. W. The apparent results were very scant in proportion to the energy he expended; and one anxious to see the establishment of the Socialist Republic must get his consolation from the theory of the conservation of energy. He spoke on three successive nights—15th, 16th and 17th—with a small audience the first night and scarcely more than two dozen people the two others. The smallness of the audience was largely due to a rain storm which was exceptionally severe the second and the third nights. But as if in compensation for this they were very attentive all through and especially so after the first night. Some S. P. men, as well as others asked questions and were immediately set right; a few subs for the Weekly People were taken, and quite a number of tracts sold.

Comrade Williams is a clear, logical talker; and, while he did not use any rhetorical figures to awaken enthusiasm (which is often short lived), he dealt out Socialistic science in so clear a language that even the least educated would have had to close his ears to keep from understanding. We may say in conclusion that though the comrade struck an apathetic community, at an inopportune time, and with the weather against him we have met quite a few who got their investigating spirit aroused by hearing his talks.

E. M. Scanuvino,
J. B. Ferguson,
Members at large.

Tuolumne, Cal., Jan. 26.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

J. W., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Apply to the Census Office in Washington.

A. I. K., SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—Your premises are false. The People has not condemned Socialist party papers "for upholding advertisements." The People is always specific in its charges. It has condemned the publishing in papers, that claim to be Socialist, of advertisements that fly in the face of Socialist teachings—such as advertisements of capitalist candidates for office, or of alleged co-operative concerns that announce that Socialism must first be tried, or of insurance companies that announce they have "saved the homes of thousands of families," or of labels that are bogus and mean only to furnish graft to labor fakirs.

M. C., HENDERSON, N. C.—First—The I. W. W. is not a federation, confederation, alliance, coalition, or what not of separate Unions. The I. W. W. is against just that and all such sort of thing. The I. W. W. is ONE UNION, subdivided into such subdivisions as the tools render necessary.

Second—Corregan whipped the Lynch crew of fakirs in the I. T. U. some time ago. They had to pay him $400 and reinstate him. The sport of "kicking out a De Leonite" cost them fully $1,800, besides no little mortification.

E. E. D., MANISTEE, MICH.—Whether it would not have been just as well to have left out of the preamble of the I. W. W. the words "without affiliation with any political party?" No. That clause was necessary there and then. The clause lays emphasis upon the fact that the emancipation of the working class consists in the capacity to take and hold the means of production, and that that is the province of the economic movement. The clause was a necessity there and then to switch the movement right and counteract the pernicious effect of the pure and simple political Socialist schemers, who were poisoning the movement with their twaddle. That work being accomplished the clause may be dropped as superfluous.

A. W., SUPERIOR, WIS.—A gallon of whiskey, sold at $2 per gallon, and on which the government levies $1.10 in revenue per gallon, is not sold at its VALUE—it is sold at its PRICE. To ascertain its value the first thing to do is to deduct the tax. That leaves ninety cents. The next thing to do is to deduct whatever other figure the distillers arbitrarily put on the value, or the figure which market oscillation adds thereto. These deductions being made, what is left is the value—the labor power crystallized in the gallon of whiskey.

T. E. H., MALDEN, MASS.—The policy of boring from within proceeded from the implied theory that the labor fakir was merely ignorant. Now, then, however ignorant he may be he knows a thing or two. Among the things that he knows is that he is a cheat and a traitor to the working class, and that his bread is buttered by such conduct. Imagine boring from within such a subject. If properly done, the fur must fly instanter. If the fur does not fly it is because the borer himself has been bored.

J. M., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—It happens on the principle of "the greater the truth the greater the libel." The capitalists get enraged in the measure that the facts charged to them are true. So do the Kangaroos.

W. H. W., PROVIDENCE, R. I.—It is a proposititon in logic.

Major premise: The majority of the working class is unorganized.

Minor premise: The majority of the working class is unorganized because the A. F. of L. and kindred craft Unions refuse them admission.

Consequently—

First—Whatever body starts to organize the unorganized is bound to be fought by the A. F. of L. and kindred craft Unions; the fight cannot be escaped except by surrendering to the fakir.

Second—The method of the craft Union fight is suppression of information, brutality and calumny, of which "scab" is the favorite one.

A. R. B., PITTSBURG, PA.—Gompers? He is not clearheaded enough to perceive that he is bound to be beaten. His acquired habits of thought have become capitalistic. He has absorbed their superstitions. He imagines, as they do, that as things are they will ever remain.

S. A. B., ROSLYN, WASH.—This office has no authority to answer questions on the constitution of the I. W. W.

A. N. W., SHEBOYGAN, WIS.—The capitalist views the question of Socialism much in the same fashion that a fur hunter might regard laws prohibiting the killing of fur-bearing animals. "Socialism will put us out of business" is the first plaint of the exploiting class.

A. F. S., NEW ORLEANS, LA.—Female factory labor does not "change" woman's work. It adds the burden of factory work to the already overladen shoulders of the housekeeper. It is a case of giving more to him who has, and taking away from him who has not, even that little.

P. C., CLEVELAND, O.—First—"Looking Backward" appeared in 1888, "Equality" about five years later. The former drew a picture of future society; the latter attempted a scientific explanation. As factors in the spread of Socialist sentiment "Looking Backward" cannot be prized too highly. "Equality" falls far below that. The simple yet touching and chaste tale interwoven in "Looking Backward" lent fascination to the book, its picture of Socialist society appealed to and touched a chord in the people that gave quick response. "Looking Backward" was received with acclaim. Its circulation came close to Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Immediately after the bourgeoisie perceived the practical tendency that the book conjured up, the spell of the fascination that the book produced was broken for them, and they began to hostilize author and work. There was nothing Utopian in "Looking Backward." Bellamy was an evolutionist, a man of brilliant intellect, and clean life and purposes. It was his trumpet blast that called into existence the American Socialist Labor Party. Unfortunately he was a man of frail physique. He succumbed to the assaults upon him. He can be said to have been a Utopian only in the sense that he ignored the class struggle, hence he gave no thought to methods by which to reach the goal. But this serious defect does not appear in "Looking Backward." The picture is free from freakishness. His imitators have been numerous, but incomparably below him.

Second—The People has off and on taken up the several names of the contemporaries whom you mention. With words quoted from their own writings, it has shown them to be folks whose capacities, whatever these may be, might add impetus to a Movement after it was well under way and well switched, but, at this stage of the movement, could only endanger it. They are all heels over-head men, without a "Cause to serve"—unless personal vainglory be a "Cause." Their conduct all along is confirming the view.

V. B., NEW YORK—Of itself land has no exchange value, any more than virgin forests and yet undiscovered veins of ore. The only value it has is potential use value. The exchange value of land begins with the labor bestowed upon it.

F. T., NEW BEDFORD, MASS.—H. L. Slobodin is the name of the lawyer against whom proceedings have been started by the bar association for subornation of perjury in the trial of case; that is exactly the name of the Volkszeitung Corporation man who has figured as State Secretary of the Volkszeitung party and as its National Committeeman on the S. P. The house and office address of both is the same. Whether they are the same person we don't know.

F. L. B., LYNN, MASS.—Those of you who are giving your votes to the Socialist party in Massachusetts do not, as you imagine, "help people to think" so that they may "ripen into S. L. P. men." What you do is to help boost a few politicians into office who, there, will, the way Carey did, transfer their economic fakirism to the political field. That does not help to "ripen people into the S. L. P." It only helps to disgust and discourage people.

L. I., MADISON, WIS.—An English writer, E. G. Wakefield, whom Marx quotes, computed that as late as 1833, "it might be doubted whether so many as a tenth of the people (in the United States) would fall under the description of hired laborers."

J. R., NEW YORK—We cannot advise you to join the "Arbeiter Sterbe und Kranken Kasse"—Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund—it is a partisan affair which recognizes only the publications of the Volkszeitung Corporation as "representing the working class."

T. A., GUTHRIE, OKLA.—Never once did the Kangaroo believe that the S. T. & L. A. scabbed. They knew it was a lie. They needed the lie to satisfy their conscionces, and bamboozle the bamboozlable.

B. W. A., LOS ANGELES, CAL.—The means of production and subsistance are not capital, in and of themselves. They become capital only when they cease to be the property of the immediate producer, and are turned at the same time into means of exploitation and subjugation of the laborer.

L. L., CHICAGO, ILL.—Get not your

(Continued on page 6.)

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.
S. L. P. OF CANADA.
National Secretary, 361 Richmond st., London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
2-6 New Reade street, New York City (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting held at 2-6 New Reade street, New York, on February 2. C. C. Crawford chairman. Members present: Schwenck, Hyman, Moren, Jacobson, Schmidt, Coddington, Walsh, Wolf, Crawford, Olson, Katz. Absent with excuse: Eck. Without excuse: Anderson, Teichlauf.

Election of Committee on Agitation and Organization: Katz, Olson, Schwenck, Coddington, and Jacobson. To Party Press and Literature were added: Hyman and Schmidt.

Financial report for two weeks ending January 27 showed: Receipts, $938.76; expenditures, $738.46.

National Secretary was instructed to send call to Section New York to elect a member for N. E. C. Sub-Committee in place of E. Fisher, who is unable to serve because of night work.

Correspondence: From Organizer Veal, Pittsburg, Pa., held meetings in Braddock and surrounding towns, with good results. I. W. W. gradually moving forward and upward. From Organizer Gillhaus, Pittsburg and vicinity, numerous meetings held with good attendance and success. Reports rainy weather upon arrival in Richmond. Will stop at Norfolk and Portsmouth and move on to New Orleans on southern trip. From F. Leitner, San Antonio, Texas, asking about Organizer Gillhaus. Says field is ripe in Galveston, Houston and vicinity. From C. Huysmans, Secretary International Socialist Bureau, Brussels, Belgium, acknowledging receipt of $112.25 from National Secretary. From H. Fuehrer, Cincinnati, O., on increasing circulation of Arbeiter Zeitung and complaining about some subscribers not getting the paper. From Secretary, State Committee, H. A. Miller, Richmond, Va., reporting B. D. Downey having been duly elected member to N. E. C. for Virginia. B. D. Downey sent credentials. From G. T. Jenning, E. St. Louis, Ill., asking for an organizer to be sent to Chicago, also sends information on party matters and asks for replacement of lost due stamps. On motion due stamps were ordered replaced. From Jules Magnette, Newark, N. J., desiring information in his case for appeal from decision of N. J. S. E. C. From Section London, Canada, reports on "Red Sunday" mass meeting. From L. G. Haller, Los Angeles, Cal., about organizer for Pacific Coast circuit. From O. M. Johnson, Fruitvale, Cal., on general party matters. From M. Schaynin, Champaigne, Ill., suggestions for increasing circulation of Weekly People.

The following sections reported election of officers: Lawrence, Mass., Detroit, Mich., Kalamazoo, Mich., Albany, N. Y., Bridgeport, Conn.

Adjourned. Secretary.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

This fund, designed to keep in the field S. L. P. organizers, received the following contributions during the week ending with Saturday, February 3:

A. S. Brown, Brooklyn, N. Y.	$ 20.00
F. Zaumseil, Belleville, Ill.	2.00
J. T. Walsh, Penty, Cal.	1.00
J. Jiskra, New York	1.00
R. L. Matthews, Pittsburg, Pa., per Gillhaus	2.00
H. Landgraf, Paterson, N. J.	.50
August Gillhaus, commission on "People" subs	2.50
August Gillhaus, commission on literature	.60
Philip Veal, commission on literature	1.75
Oscar Yehring, Douglas, Alaska	1.00
Section Kalamazoo, Mich., collection	3.30
D. A. Reed, Huntington, Ark.	.54
Total	$ 36.19
Previously acknowledged	$2,264.11
Grand total	$2,300.30

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

MILWAUKEE HUNGARIAN FESTIVAL.

The Hungarian Branch of the S. L. P. has arranged a theatrical performance and ball for SUNDAY, FEB. 18, at the Freie Gemeinde Hall, 260 Fourth street. Party members and sympathizers are urgently requested to help make this affair a success. The admission is 15 cents. After six o'clock, 25 cents.

WANTED—The address of a reliable attorney in Lowell, Mass., to conduct a case these, by A. E. Seltenberger, Chico, California.

GILHAUS IN RICHMOND

NATIONAL ORGANIZER MAKES A DENT IN INTRENCHED INDIFFERENCE.

(Special Correspondence.)

Richmond, Va., Feb. 4.—When Comrade August Gillhaus wsa introduced to me I registered him in the inventory of my acquaintances as "The Pensive Pessimist." He didn't seem to have enough snap for an organizer and for him to attempt to make and impression on intrenched indifference in Richmond seemed a forlorn hope. But, say, he's all right. Just a gentle hustler. I felt sure he had something on his mind.

Now any one who has Richmond, Va., upon his mind may be excused for falling into an occasional reverie. I'd fall into a conniption fit myself. We are polite here, very pleasant and very tolerant towards visitors who think that our medieval mental attitude could be modernized with advantage.. We let them exert themselves. We don't discourage them; that would be bad form. We admire their energy. It satisfies them, and it don't hurt us. They will learn better by and by. They are barbarians from the rude frozen North where the Lotus is, maybe, unobtainable.

But August Gillhaus has made a dent. He hasn't broken completely through; that will take time and circumstances. But he got before the Iron Molders' Union Saturday, February 3, and sold them thirty-five pamphlets. He had been told he could have fifteen or twenty minutes to speak and nobody seemed to notice that he spoke for nearly an hour. The members frequently applauded and if there were any fakirs present they must have seen that the time was very unpropititious for them and they held their peace.

Gillhaus was given the floor, I suppose, under some head of business because he was preceded by a delegate from the Cigar Makers' Union, who urged the blue label upon the attention of the members. He gave some startling figures to show the difference in labor cost of union hand-made cigars and trust machine-made ones. He was leaving the room when Gillhaus rose to his feet and mentioned the I. W. W. At that the cigarmakers' delegate took a seat and stayed to the end.

Gillhaus showed the un-solidarity of labor as at present organized. He instanced the car strike which took place here, when the conductors and motormen went out, the power house employes scabbed it on them by runnisg the motive power end of the business. Also the present printers' strike, where the book and job compositors are out, but union newspaper compositors are setting ads for scabs, the pressmen are printing scab-set work. He showed up the contract or agreement flim-flam. The proofs and evidences he adduced were overwhelming and tallied with the experience and undefined convictions of many present.

The story of the pattern makers' strike last year in Columbus, Ohio, hit some of the molders where they lived. It brought the moral directly home to them; and one member present told Gillhaus afterwards that he was there at the time and it was just so.

Of course, the I. W. W. was explained and the opening clauses of its preamble analyzed.

It was a condensed, lucid and luminous convincing talk, but, of course, there was no chance for canvassing.

We came away—Blersch, Gillhaus and myself—and left them something to read (Debs' speech), and something to think about.

It had taken Gillhaus much fine work at the railway shop gates to make his opportunity. But it was worth it ten times told.

When you see him next he will be able to put you wise to some of the industrial conditions in Richmond.

We had an advertised meeting at Powell's Hall, on Thursday, February 1, and canvassed some I. W. W. material, but the mercury was too low. It is the union meeting that gratified, astounded us. We were not prepared for anything like that. I expected to be cast into outer darkness but Gillhaus took it as a matter of course. T. A. H.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONISTS' FUND

During the week ending with Saturday, February 3, the following contributions were received to the above fund:

Pleasantville, N. Y.—Fred F. Benke, $3; Mrs. M. Brauckmann, $3	$ 6.00
Collected on list by E. S. Erikson, Culver, Minn., from:—O. Olson, 25c.; Postmaster, $1; A. Haldin, 25c.; A. Braberg, 50c.; C. Gustafson, 50c.; J. Brindos, 50c.; C. Schelin, $3; A. Shepley, $1; S. Swartz, 35c.; Fred Smith, 50c.; G. Horner, 30c.; W. Swartz, 50c.; G. Benson, 50c.; F. Kenny, $1; C. Borg, 50c.; J. Frambly, $2; A. Nordling, 50c.; H. Skar, 50c.; C. Sandal, 50c.; F. Sandal, 50c.; Unknown, $5; G. Johnson, 50c.; P. Erikson, 25c.; A. G. Johnson, 50c.; F. Johnson, $1; And. Johnson, 50c.; F. Nelstrom, 50c.; Frank Smith, $1; J. Shemansky, $1; D. Anderson, 50c.; Andr. Olson, 25c.; P. E. Shelin, $1; F. Brousson, $1; J. E. Broms, 25c.; R. Campbell, 50c.; T. Thopson, 50c.; S. L. Phelps, for Brindos party, $3.50; P. G. Paulson, 25c.; L. G. Erikson, 50c.	33.15
Section Louisville, Ky., collected at meeting	6.00
Stamford, Conn., shop collection	2.15
Section Red Lake Co., Minn., collected from:—D. Bray, 25c.; C. N. Bourdon, 25c.; J. Morin, 25c.; H. Wolf, 25c.; L. Silbrest, 25c.; A. J. Hoyez, 25c.; N. Benoit, 25c.; H. Blair, 25c.; T. Rabillard, 25c.; A. Lyse, 25c.; Dan Shamp, 10c.; E. Normondo, 25c.; S. Paul, 50c.; W. Findeisen, 25c.; N. W. Tawnet, 25c.; N. Helm, 25c.; D. Linnehan, 25c.; Tom Jeffoos, 50c.; I. Gernd, 20c.; K. M. Hansen, 25c.; L. A. Kaufer, 25c.; L. Siff, 25c.; T. La Bissoniere, 25c.; N. Delorme, 25c.; J. E. King, 25c.; I. Lemieux, 25c.; P. Beaulieu, 10c.; Cash Duffy, 50c.; J. Miller, 25c.; J. Berry, 25c.; H. Kaufer, 25c.; Jas. —— (name illegible), 25c.; J. K. Johnson, 25c.	8.70
Collected at the Indianapolis Local I. W. W. "Bloody Sunday" demonstration, Monday, January 22	22.50
J. W. Devore, Montrose, Colo.	1.00
Los Angeles, Cal.—Mrs. Nellie Durand, $2; J. Shea, $1; H. Kruse, $1; S. J. Cooper, $1; Box at Section Headquarters, $1.20	6.20
Samuel Rohrbach, Reading, Pa.	1.50
J. T. Walsh, Penty, Cal., day's wages	2.25
Schenectady, N. Y., Russian Revolutionists' Aid Committee, one-half proceeds of meeting on January 22	25.00
Yonkers, N. Y., net proceeds of demonstration arranged jointly by S. P. and S. L. P.	57.88
H. Landgraf, Paterson, N. J.	.50
Wm. Taylor, Worcester, Mass.	1.00
Oscar Yehring, Douglas, Alaska	2.00
Section Monroe Co., N. Y.	7.65
Wm. Jurgens, Bisbee, Ariz.	3.00
Roslyn, Wash., per S. A. B., collection	5.50
Cleveland, Ohio, collected at meeting January 22, arranged by I. W. W. and S. L. P.	57.47
Section London, Ont.	2.50
San Francisco, Cal., collected by Lettish Socialists from:—Branch American Lettish Socialist Federation of Labor, $20; Robt. Gross, $3; J. Schlesser, $2; J. Friede, $3; Chas. Greenberg, $5; J. Wilkevsky, $4; A. Milt and Mrs. Milt, $2; E. Seibart, $1; J. Trey, $1; J. Draugs, $2; M. A. Wilson, $3; A. Meyer, $3; W. Mahsing, $2; A. Kalning, $1; E. W. Mackbeth, $1; E. Wizinsky, $1; J. Rephun, $1; P. Adamson, $10; K. Dsehrwe, $1; J. H. Greenhoff, $2; J. Stein, $1; S. Zucker, $1; Chas. Bunkfeldt, $1; S. W. Hahn, 50c.; a friend, 50c.	72.00
Section Essex County, N. J.	7.39
Section Chautauqua Co., N. Y. collected at meeting	6.05
J. T. Gamey, Fleming, Canada	.50
Eureka, Cal., collected at meeting arranged by S. P. and S. L. P., from:—I. Zimmerman, $1; Wm. Remmel, $1; E. Johnson, $1; Nels Larson, 50c.; T. Sandmark, 25c.; A. E. Banney, $1; T. P. Lande, $2; M. S. Enos, 50c.; J. Messer, 50c.; O. Swanson, $2.50; J. A. Snively, $1; Orloff, 50c.; Woodhouse, $1.50; Swanson, $1.60; Abernothy, $1; Banon, $1.50; Fritz, $1.50; Ostrom, $1; J. Ballard, $1; Dickenson, 25c.; Douglas, $1; C. Carlson, 50c.; J. North, $1; H. Ericksen, $3; R. Ulbricht, 25c.; P. Wallace, 50c.; A. Wahi, 50c.; A. T. Stanfield, 50c.; P. Andersen, 50c.; A. Zinst, 50c.; A. W. McLean, $1; C. F. Perkins, $1; H. Acons, $1; J. B. Lagasce, $1; J. Merchland, $1; H. Pederson, $1; J. W. Underwood, 50c.; J. Hunt, $3; W. W. Lowell, 50c.; J. Valade, $1; T. Eroros, $2; W. Tilly, $1; E. A. O'Brien, $2; Sympathizer, 50c.; Section Humboldt Co., S. L. P., $5; F. Moore, 50c.; total, $51.35; less 20c. for expenses; total remitted	51.15
Moosup, Conn., collected by A. B. Lafreniere and O. Laroche, from:—A. B. Lafreniere, $2; O. Laroche, $2; H. Hoyle, $2; C. Roy, $1; C. Lafreniere, $1; E. Lafreniere, 50c.; A. Brown, 25c.; Goldberg Bros., $1; W. Bellavance, 25c.; A. St. Andre, 25c.; W. Crooks, 25c.; W. Gorman, 25c.; F. Seney, 25c.; Mary Coffey, 25c.; A. Zetreault, 25c.; J. Hampton, 25c.; S. Coffey, 25c.; I. Grenier, 25c.; total	12.25
Cleveland, Ohio, joint demonstration of Hungarian branches of S. P. and S. L. P.: collected at meeting, $14.93; Perharih Mihaly, 50c.; Seigeti Lajos, 25c.; I. Dorko, 25c.; I. Leszner, 15c.; F. Varga, 20c.; G. Murar, 25c.; K. Szalontai, 25c.	16.78
McKeesport, Pa., collected at meeting of Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation	10.25
George Ferch, Fairfield, Wash.	1.00
Tacoma, Wash., connected at January 22 meeting, held jointly by S. P., I. W. W., S. L. P. and members of Trades Council	21.00
Richard Coe, Cumberland, B.C.	
Jos. Pflueger, Indianapolis, Ind.	.50
Toronto, Ont., local 198, I. W. W., collected from:—C. A. V. Kemp, $2.40; F. Martin, $2; R. Roadhouse, $2; a cockroach, $1; W. Pickering, $2; A. Ramsay, $1; W. McMullen, $1; S. Asheroff, 50c.; J. Cohen, 50c.; A. Goss, 50c.; W. McDonach, 50c.; G. A. Maves, $2; A. Paul, $2	17.40
Baltimore, Md., one-third proceeds of meeting arranged by S. P., S. L. P., and several Russian organizations (Arbeiter Ring, Jewish Bund and Socialist Revolutionary party)	12.64
"S. S.," Brownsville (Brooklyn), N. Y.	.65
New York City, S. Kubrick, $2; A. Shadlower, 50c.	2.50
Yonkers, N. Y., additional remittance by joint committee: on list No. 6, $2.25; Machinist sympathizer, $1; Fred Lindgrist, $1	6.25
Peoria, Ill., collected under auspices of local 189, I. W. W., with co-operation of S. P., S. L. P. and Singing Society "Vorwarts"	62.50
Total	$ 553.76
Previously acknowledged	$1,364.64
Grand total	$1,918.40

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

CANADIAN N. E. C.

Regular meeting of N. E. C., S. L. P. of Canada, held at 361 Richmond street, London, Ont., January 29, with Courtney in chair. Roll call: Wade and Hunt absent without excuse. Minutes of previous meeting confirmed.

Communications: From L. S. Hildebrandt of Section Vauconver, enclosing $2.50 for dues stamps, giving names of newly elected Section executive, and requesting advertising circulars, etc. The secretary having replied his action was endorsed. From L. S. Hildebrandt of later date, requesting certain action concerning one Comrade Bailes of Section Vancouver, same was filed and secretary instructed to advise Section Vancouver what action to take. From New York Labor News Company quoting prices on correspondence blanks and advertising circulars, same was filed and secretary instructed to order 500 of each.

Moved by Maxwell and seconded by Pearce, that the following persons are hereby requested to communicate with the National Secretary, at 361 Richmond street, London, Ont.: J. M. Reid and R. Roadhouse of Toronto; R. J. Kerrigan and W. T. Leach of Montreal; G. A. Moore, Winnipeg; Simon Lomax of Stillarton, Nova Scotia; J. E. Farrell of Sault Ste. Marie or North Bay; Leon Lazarus, Brantford; P. Vandusen of Hamilton, Ont., and F. Lighter, Glace Bay, C. B.

Adjourned.

C. A. Weitzel, Rec. Secretary.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, ATTENTION!

Readers of The People are hereby requested to attend a mass meeting to organize the Industrial Workers of the World, at Large Hall, 111½ South High street, on Sunday, Feb. 11, at 2 p. m. Philip Veal will speak.

BISBEE'S MINES

Second Greatest Copper Camp—How Labor Is Oppressed There.

(Special Correspondence.)

Bisbee, Arizona, Jan. 23.—Bisbee is a mining camp in the southwestern portion of Arizona. It is, next to Butte, Montana, the greatest copper producing camp in the United States. Its resources are enormous. The present production is, according to report, 12,000,000 pounds a month, and the development of till now non-producing mines, is in full progress. To develop a copper mine takes years of work and millions of dollars are expended before it produces one pound of copper.

There are at the present time two corporations operating in Bisbee, the Copper Queen Consolidated, part of the Philipps & Dodge Co., and the Bonanza Circle, financiered by the Michigan copper interests.

The Copper Queen Co. was the first to develop the mines. It took up all the land where there was any prospect for copper and it not only owns the ground where the mines are located but very near the whole townsite of Bisbee. It has got a big company store here. It has built churches, a library, a gymnasium, a Y. M. C. A., hotels and everything else not only for holding the wage slaves in submission, but to control everything that passes through the gulch leading up to their burgh. It owns the Southwestern Railroad which traverses Southern Arizona. The water, electric light and gas is controlled by this company, or by their understrappers. There is nothing that administers to the necessities of life which is not controlled by this company. They are more supreme than the feudal lords were in the middle ages.

I have shown the power this company possesses. Let us now see how the men bear up under it.

We should think that the wage slaves, of which there are close on to 6,000, would revolt against the whims and the conditions this company and their willing tools force upon the men of Bisbee. Frang Bohn, when he glorified the revolutionary spirit of the Westerner, and especially the miner, must have forgotten that he had ever been in Bisbee, for it is not here the old timer is met. Here is the most craven and docile wage slave it ever was my "fortune" to see and to speak to him of. The conditions here are such that even a negro slave would scorn them. The wage slave will tell you with inspiring awe of the benevolent company. How it has built up hospitals, churches and libraries, all for the good of its workingmen; and it is paying $3.50 for a day's work. The poor deluded slave does not see that he is only getting one-eighth of what he produces (according to the company's own figures), and that he has to go back to the company for the necessities of life, so that he in the end only gets a living and a miserable one at that.

But there is a new generation growing up in this camp; and the ever growing demand for labor is enticing the "hobo" miner here. His restless spirit has seen better condittions in other places and he revolts against being entirely controlled by the Copper Queen slave driver.

There is now a movement on foot to enroll the miners in line for the Western Federation of Miners. It is hazardous work, for the Copper Queen Company has always opposed organization. The work of organizing was started in secret, but due to the excellent spy system, the company maintains, it leaked out. The company has shown its hand by discriminating against some who were active. The writer of this was told on "Red Sunday" that his time was in the office and no reason given. The day after the company held meetings in every stop, drift and race, where the boss was chairman and spokesman, warning the men not to join the W. F. of M. and threatening them with the blacklist and the closing down of the mine. There is great consternation in Bisbee now. Most of the men are afraid of losing their jobs. One man is afraid to talk to another. Perhaps the spotter may be around and cause him to lose his job, thus compelling him to get out of camp.

In spite of all this the march of revolution and progress cannot be broken. One man may go, another one will take his place. The time is ripe here in Bisbee. All the chicanery and brute force of the exploiters and their hirelings cannot stem the tide. Organization on revolutionary lines has made its beginning in Bisbee. It is here to stay. The fight is on and it must be won. There is no letting up with the men who have so far enrolled till Bisbee is in line for the Western Federation of Miners and the I. W. W., and I hope it will be a speedy victory.

All miners who have fight in their bones and the interest of the only class conscious workingman's organization in their heart will do well to come to Bisbee. Work is plentiful and there is no trouble anticipated. Men who shirk this great fight please stay away.

Wm. Jurgens.

The Industrial Worker

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LETTER-BOX.

(Continued from page four.)

lines tangled. A "national" organ and "party ownership" are not synonimous. A "national" organ may or may not be a good thing in a country of such vast dimensions and consequently different shades of economic conditions. Much may be said for and against that. But that is not the issue. The issue is whether ANY organ may be safely owned by people whose ownership the party cannot reach. That is, people who can speculate upon the party, and then, even when kicked out, can retain possession of what is substantially a party product. There is no difference between the privately-owned press and a capitalits plant. Labor produces the latter, it is, however lost to Labor, the capitalist holds it and can and does tell Labor: "Go fishing!" The Socialist press is the product of the Movement and the membership, it is, however, lost to the membership, private corporations own it and can and do tell the party: "Go fishing." whenever it suits them. The conduct of the Volkszeitung Corporation in the matter of trades unionism is conclusive proof.

J. S., KANSAS CITY, MO.—In a fight blows are given and taken; after the fight the combatants re-align. Regardless of where they stood before, they then re-divide into two sets. One set consists of those who fought honorably: these never did one another intentional wrong: they clasp hands into a solid body. The other set consists of those who fought dishonestly: they did intentional wrong: their past misconduct causes them to entertain implacable hatred for those whom they wronged, especially they, the wrongdoers, being beaten: they pull away. The re-alignment virtually takes place under two banners—one banner is inscribed: "We fought for a Cause, our weapons were the strife for Truth"; the other is inscribed: "We fought to gratify our petty selves, our weapons were personal malice." Watch and see events prove all this true.

E. B., COLUMBUS, O.—Go to your best friend in Columbus. Only he can give advice in such matters. It would seem your lawyer has abused your confidence.

F. O., DANBURY, CONN.—To judge by the Almanach of Gotha, only the royal houses of Spain and Italy are wholly disconnected from the Danish royal house by consanguinity. All others are either closely or remotely blood relations.

A. D. A., DETROIT, MICH.—Yes and no. The A. F. of L. is in the process of distintegration. That is true. The conclusion, however, would be false that it may be left to its fate. It is in the process of distintegration in the sense that capitalism is in the same process. The parallel must not be overlooked. Capitalism, though disintegrating, will fight for its existence. So will the A. F. of L., and it will fight with identical methods—calumny and brutality.

A. T. F., NEW HAVEN, CONN.—You rule yourself out of court. He who says "we have made our experience with the S. T. & L. A." and stops there, without specifying even remotely what that "experience" is which he objects to, so that it may be verified, belongs to the fish-wife category. Such are unworthy of being noticed, leastwise discussing with. They are either inventors or retailers of lies, who, to their feather-weight morality, join the impudence of demanding to be believed without proof.

L. B., NEW YORK—Has the I. W. W. an orchestra set of musicians? If it has and then A. F. of L. musicians are employed it would be wrong. If the I. W. W. has no orchestra musicians then it is as much justified to employ any other musicians as its members are justified to buy shoes not made by I. W. W. men, so long as there are no I. W. W. shoes to be had.

J. U., SAN JOSE, CAL.—Is it not a supremely ludicrous sight to see men who assert that the political movement has nothing to do with the economic, claim in the same breath that "the I. W. W. is but a scheme of the S. L. P. to smash the S. P."? These folks not only know nothing, but are too shallow to learn and too unbalanced in mind to realize that they travel with their feet in their mouths.

H. G., SPOKANE, WASH.; G. F. G., AND F. H., PROVIDENCE, R. I.; M. R., HOLYOKE, MASS.—The matter has been covered in previous reports.

H. F. F., SOUTH MANCHESTER, CONN.—The poem was received. Is in the hands of poetic critic.

J. M. R., TORONTO, CANADA—There is no hurry about the typewritten matter.

J. C. B., PATERSON, N. J.; O. N., GLEN CARBON, ILL.; C. R., KANSAS CITY, MO.; J. A. A., SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH; G. S., DANBURY, CONN.; L. T. U., RUTLAND, VT.; F. L., SAN ANTONIO, TEX.; J. S., MYSTIC, IA.; W. G. J., BISBEE, ARIZ.; T. J. H., JERSEY CITY, N. J.; B. P., NE WYORK; W. S. J., TACOMA, WASH.; B. S. F., CINCINNATI, O.; X. X., CHICAGO, ILL.; R. R., ROCHESTER, N. Y.; Y. Y., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.; T. T., NEWARK, N. J.; N. N., TERRE HAUTE, IND.; A. A., MANCHESTER, N. Y.—Matter received.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES.

For the week ending February 3rd, we received 258 subscriptions to the Weekly People, and 26 mail subscriptions to the Daily People, a total of 284.

The roll of honor for five or more subs sent in is: G. A. Jenning, East St. Louis, Ill., 14; H. Steedman, Detroit, Mich., 12; E. Claflin, Perkinsville, Vt., 10; Frank Leitner, San Antonio, Texas, 9; John Farrell, Lowell, Mass., 6; W. E. Kern, New Orleans, La., 6; Leon La Coste, New Orleans, La., 5; A. Louwet, Kalamazoo, Mich., 5; E. Pryor, Bridgeport, Conn., 5; W. H. McNealy, St. Louis, Mo., 5; J. W. Johnson, Minneapolis, Minn., 5; Thirty-fourth A. D., New York, 5.

Prepaid postal cards sold: G. A. Jenning, E. St. Louis, $5; Samuel Johnson, St. Paul, Minn., $5; Frank Leitner, San Antonio, Texas, $5; H. S. Borini, San Francisco, Cal., $4; J. S. Weinberger, Schenectady, N. Y., $2; K. P. Miller, Letcher, Cal., $2.50.

The Weekly People issue of January 20th containing Debs' speech is exhausted, don't send any more orders for that number.

We would again remind the comrades throughout the country that more of them should read the Daily People, and thus keep abreast of developments as they unfold. One dollar will bring the Daily to you for three months.

We want to say that the untiring effort made for the Weekly People by so many comrades is most encouraging all around. This does not apply only to those who send in five at one time, but to all, who as opportunity offers, send in one,two, or more subs. On the other hand there are comrades—many of them, from whom we never hear at all. We are amid stirring times that call for the energy, devotion and persistence of every militant Socialist. Do your duty, is the watchword of the hour.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

We could have handled much more business the past week, still we had a few good orders.

Socialist Party, New Orleans, La., took $14.25 worth of pamphlets; Tobacco Workers' I. W. W., Pittsburg, $5.25 for Preamble Address; W. E. Shurtleff, Organizer, I. W. W., 3,000 Italian and 2,000 English I. W. W. leaflets; Section San Francisco, Cal., $4.50 for pamphlets; Branch II., Jersey City, $2, and I. W. W. Local 67, Jersey City, $1.20 worth of pamphlets. C. C. McHugh, Anaconda, Mont., $1.70 pamphlets; A. Louwet, Kalamazoo, Mich., $1.80 for the same. Other pamphlet orders were: J. H. T. Juergens, Canton, O., $1.50; 34th A. D., N. Y., $1; O. Justh, Chicago, $1, besides a number of smaller orders.

K. P. Miller, Letcher, Cal., took $8.50 worth of Sue books and Woman Under Socialism; John Frederikson, Hyde Park, Mass., $14.65 for cloth bound books; Mrs. F. W. Freer, Chicago, $2.25 and J. C. Falconer, Beloit, Wis., $1.50 for cloth books.

Comrades the movement is going forward with giant strides, see to it that our literature is there to guide it.

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